Daily Report

Soviet Union

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NOTICE TO READERS: On 6 May 1991, the DAILY REPORT will begin phasing in new radio and television sourcelines that reflect how a station identifies itself. This change eliminates the "Domestic Service" and "Television Service" designations in favor of the station identification as broadcast. The presence of a new sourceline reflects this change in policy, rather than the establishment of a new station or network.

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TASS Roundup of Churkin's 6 May Briefing

Views Western Sahara Accord

LD0605154191 Moscow TASS in English 1513 GMT 6 May 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Konstantin Voitsekhovich and Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow May 6 TASS—A Soviet spokesman expressed hope today that the UN secretary general's plan for a Western Saharan settlement "will be implemented in close cooperation with the parties to the conflict—Morocco and the Polisario Front."

He added that "the international community has the right to expect the latter to take a responsible approach and give all-round support to the United Nations' peacemaking efforts."

Vitaliy Churkin, chief of the Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, was speaking at a briefing here.

The UN Security Council unanimously passed a resolution for a referendum under UN supervision on Western Sahara's self-determination. UN observers under the plan are to include both military and civilian personnel.

Churkin noted that the settlement of the almost 20-year-old regional conflict is entering the decisive phase thanks to efforts by the United Nations and its secretary general.

"The United Nations demonstrated its key stabilising and regulating role in world politics," the spokesman said.

"Throughout the existence of the Western Sahara problem, the Soviet Union has consistently backed UN steps aiming to ensure a fair settlement based on respect for the Western Saharan people's right to decide their destiny themselves," he said.

Churkin voiced confidence that the resolution of the Western Sahara conflict will help improve the situation in the Maghreb, Africa and the world as a whole.

Cambodian Peace Call Response Viewed

LD0605154391 Moscow TASS in English 1455 GMT 6 May 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Konstanin Voitsekhovich and Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow May 6 TASS—It is believed in the Soviet Union that the opposing sides in Cambodia are now offered a unique chance of advance towards national reconciliation. Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vitaliy Churkin thus commented at a briefing here on a positive response by the Cambodian sides to the call of United Nations secretary general and the cochairmen of the International Paris Conference on Cambodia for a voluntary cease-fire as of May 1.

The government of the state of Cambodia has ordered its troops not to leave the places of their deployment and to create the necessary conditions for cease-fire. But according to the information received, the Cambodian opposition forces, above all "Khmer Rouge," continued combat operations in a number of Cambodian districts in the first days of May, the Soviet spokesman noted.

Objective reasons for the failure to observe cease-fire, including specific conditions of Cambodia, the fact that communication system has not been established, the infrastructure is lacking and armed units are scattered, should be taken into consideration. "If this is deliberate, this can only evoke purplexity and indignation," Churkin said.

Treaties With E. Europe Viewed

LD0605212891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1445 GMT 6 May 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Konstantin Voytsekhovich and Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] [No dateline as received] Speaking at a briefing today Vitaliy Churkin, chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, commented on statements and commentaries on the course of preparing new political treaties between the USSR and neighboring Eastern European countries, which have appeared recently. In his words, certain statements "depict the Soviet position in a false light and contain all kinds of arbitrary treatment".

The Soviet Union is striving to build its relations with Eastern European states on an equal, good-neighborly basis, with full respect for mutual interests, stated the diplomat. The USSR has opted for the liquidation of the Warsaw Pact Organization and is conducting discussions on new wide-format political treaties intended to replace previous treaties on cooperation and mutual assistance, which have a strong ideological component, which at the present time has exhausted itself.

The representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs expressed the view that such new agreements, which would exclude participation in unions hostile to one another, and the offering of one's own territories and infrastructures for use by third states to the detriment of a neighbor, would serve the interests of all states in that region. This would create a good basis for new structures of trust and security in the region.

In this connection, stressed Vitaliy Churkin, the attempts of certain political circles to depict the matter in such a way that the USSR is supposedly striving to fix in new treaties one-sided advantages and to hurt the sovereignty of its partners do not bear out criticism. Everything being proposed by the Soviet side is based on equal rights and full reciprocity, and corresponds with the UN Charter and documents of the Helsinki process. At the same time, the Soviet Union comes out for the all-round development of all- European security structures.

The new treaties with states in Eastern Europe will require thoughtful and painstaking work, noted the representative of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. "We are ready to conduct this work, whatever it may require, to come to good, weighty treaty settlements."

Comments on Relations With U.S.

LD0705092391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1440 GMT 6 May 91

[Excerpt] Moscow, May 6 (TASS)—[passage omitted] On the subject of Soviet-American relations, Vitaliy Churkin said that the USSR "feels a certain amount of concern about some of the themes which sometimes come up in discussion of policy toward the Soviet Union in the United States." "We are not fully satisfied at the way in which the potential chances for the development of relations between our countries in the economic field are being realized," he continued. The Soviet diplomat described as "unproductive" some of the things said by American politicians aimed at "whipping up certain separatist moods in the Soviet Union." At the same time he pointed to things said by representatives of the U.S. Administration, including at the highest level, in the area of supporting perestroyka and aspiring to develop relations with the USSR.

"We are glad to hear reports that President Bush's state of health is good and that he is on the road to a swift and complete recovery," Vitaliy Churkin said in answer to questions from journalists. [passage omitted]

General Moiseyev Discusses East-West Dialogue

LD0605155591 Moscow TASS in English 1200 GMT 6 May 91

[By TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy]

[Text] Moscow May 6 TASS—"Despite the contradictory international situation, mutual understanding is replacing confrontation," Chief of the Soviet General Staff Mikhail Moiseyev told TASS here today.

In his opinion, the improving international climate is especially heartening on the eve of the 46th anniversary of the victory over fascism and the 50th anniversary of the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union.

"The Soviet people remember their allies in the anti-Nazi coalition and their aid during the struggle against fascism," Moiseyev stressed. He added that only the victory over Nazism opened prospects for "establishing a just and lasting peace in the world."

The general stressed that these hopes are now being realised thanks to common efforts of nations. Suspicion between the East and the West is receding into the past and dialogue is replacing confrontation.

Moiseyev noted that at the same time the implementation of "the Soviet model of security" is running into some difficulties due to the latest events, including the end of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation.

"All our troops will return home from abroad by the end of 1994. We are now alone against NATO. The united Germany is a NATO member.

"We have completed the unilateral reduction of our Armed Forces by 500,000 and are pursuing a policy to decrease military confrontation and reduce armaments on a mutual basis," the general noted.

"The Soviet Union's security policy is encouraging in many ways," Moiseyev noted. In his opinion, all peoples are becoming convinced of the senseless nature of the arms drive, the great danger of its continuation, let alone its propagation to outer space.

Understanding is growing both in theory and practice that it is possible to remove the threat of war.

"Peoples themselves are forming international relations, since they are vitally interested in a secure future and see it not in confrontation but in a constructive dialgue," he stressed.

Treaties with France, Germany and Italy, signed by the Soviet Union last year, can serve as an example of new relations with NATO countries, Moiseyev emphasised. In fact, they are "non-aggression pacts."

"Their value is that they create a sound basis for broad cooperation in various spheres, help build new security structures and do away with closed military and political groups," Moiseyev concluded.

United States & Canada

Gorbachev Concerned by U.S. Approach to Relations

LD0605162791 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 6 May 91

[Text] The state of Soviet-U.S. relations was another topic in the discussion between President Gorbachev and Rupert Murdoch. Details from Yuriy Solton:

[Solton] In little over a year Soviet-U.S. relations have outgrown confrontation and have been tried on partnership. The change demanded a serious effort and confronted the new partners with serious tests. The fall of the Berlin Wall on the one hand urged to take a new approach toward European security. The Gulf crisis on the other showed Soviet-American accord was essential for curbing regional aggression. On the whole, the world has profited from the change, although the new partnership is to be treated with care.

It is unfortunately being submitted to a new and unnecessary test for tensile strength. There are forces in both the United States and the Soviet Union that attempt to defame bilateral cooperation and undermine the hard-won trust. Disarmament has slowed down, last year's trade agreement has been virtually frozen, and U.S. response to the Baltic advances is alarming. The U.S. Administration insists it recognizes the Soviet Union inside the borders of 1939, although Secretary of State James Baker has vowed it has no intention of jeopardizing the non-violent development of relations between the Soviet Government and the Baltics.

Moscow's view on bilateral relations has not changed, but the Soviet president is concerned that the United States is showing signs of altering its approach. If Soviet-American cooperation is undermined, the world, in President Gorbachev's view, will plunge into a politically humid atmosphere that will have a bad effect on the world's health.

Talking to Mr. Murdoch the Soviet leader reiterated his high assessment of President Bush's stand on bilateral agreements. Moscow expects a visit from Mr. Bush. It feels Soviet-U.S. summits should become regular and free of sensationalism—they should in fact follow the European pattern. If Washington agrees it needs the prospective summit as much as Moscow does, the two administrations must advance toward the event in a calm and reserved manner and ignore attempts to provoke mistrust and jeopardize bilateral relations.

PRAVDA Notes Renewed Debate Over Quayle

PM0705100391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 May 91 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Home From the Hospital; President G. Bush Back at the White House"]

[Text] Washington, 6 May—Doctors treating the U.S. President have decided not to proceed with electrotherapy in order to restore the normal working of George Bush's heart. This has just been announced at a White House press conference by the President's Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater. He stressed that in the doctors' opinion the course of medication used to treat Bush's cardiac arrhythmia, which was discovered Saturday, is yielding positive results. This course of treatment will be continued, but the President will remain under the doctors' observation.

Meanwhile, Fitzwater stressed, President Bush would be leaving the Bethesda Naval Hospital in a matter of minutes for the White House, where he would resume his normal working day. According to the President's press secretary, his timetable will not be changed. In particular, Bush will today receive former USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze as planned.

Answering journalists' questions, Fitzwater noted that doctors will be monitoring Bush's health directly at the White House, where all the necessary medical equipment has been installed.

"The President's sudden illness," a NEW YORK TIMES article says, "has kicked off the debate about whether Bush should replace the vice president in the list of Republican Party candidates for the 1992 presidential election, considering the fact that Dan Quayle is finding it hard to show that he has the confidence of the majority of Americans. This is an urgent problem both for the Republicans and for the Democrats, the significance of which was concealed by Bush's excellent health. However, now that a shadow has fallen over Bush's good health, Republicans are privately expressing concern over whether the President should review Quayle's status, while the Democrats are openly suggesting that he should do so.

"However, the vice president's aides and some Washington political observers are claiming that an opportunity could now finally be emerging for the vice president to win the public's trust. As far as those close to Bush are concerned, they agree that, if the situation worsens to the extent that Bush's own chances of success are jeopardized, as one of the President's friends put it, he will 'ditch Quayle.'"

China

Marshal Yazov Visits Shanghai, Guangzhou

LD0605140491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1216 GMT 6 May 91

[By TASS special correspondent Sergey Sorokin]

[Text] Shanghai, 6 May (TASS)—We salute the friendship between the Soviet and Chinese peoples, between the CPSU and the CCP, and the continuous development of bilateral contacts, including contacts between

the armies of our two countries. These words were spoken here today, on behalf of the 13 million inhabitants of Shanghai, by Huang Ju, chairman of the Municipal People's Government, at a meeting with MSU [Marshal of the Soviet Union] D.T. Yazov, USSR minister of defense, who is touring the country as part of his official visit to the PRC.

Greeting the Soviet military chief, Huang Ju laid special stress on the significance of his visit to one of China's biggest industrial and cultural centers, and he conveyed a greeting to the people of the USSR and the inhabitants of Leningrad, Shanghai's twin city.

D.T. Yazov paid visits today to the principal naval base of the Eastern Fleet of the People's Liberation Army [PLA] and to the Baoshan metallurgical combine. Earlier on, the USSR minister of defense visited the city of Guangzhou, where he familiarized himself with the activities of one of the PLA's air force formations. He also paid a visit to the special economic zone at Shenzhen. The distinguished guest is being accompanied by Colonel General Qin Jiwei, the PRC minister of defense.

Returns To Beijing

LD0605163491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1528 GMT 6 May 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Sorokin]

[Text] Beijing, 6 May (TASS)—Having completed his trip around the country, marshal of the Soviet Union D. T. Yazov, USSR minister of defense, returned to Beijing today.

Scholar on Significance of Jiang Zemin Visit

OW0705024891 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 6 May 91

[Text] Listeners and Friends, Comrade Jiang Zemin, China's paramount leader, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee and chairman of the CPC Central Committee Military Commission, will come to Moscow for a formal visit in mid May. We have asked (Titarenko), a renowned Soviet sinologist, to speak on the significance of Jiang Zemin's visit on the further development of Soviet-Chinese relations.

Dr. (Titarenko), chairman of the Far East Department of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, said: The upcoming visit of the Chinese leader Jiang Zemin is a return visit to the Soviet leader Comrade Gorbachev's visit to China in May 1989. Comrade Jiang Zemin's visit to the USSR and his upcoming talks with the Soviet leader demonstrate that Soviet-Chinese relations are constantly developing, and that Soviet-Chinese relations have been upgraded and developed in an all-around way since they were fully normalized in May 1989. Comrade (Titarenko) continued: Since then, Soviet-Chinese relations have been developed on the basis of the brand new principles for peaceful coexistence. Both the USSR and China have gained experience and drawn lessons from confrontations which had lasted for over 20 years since the late 1950's. The main conclusion of such confrontations is: Only cooperation, living in harmony, and mutual understanding, instead of confrontations, tally with the interests of the people of the two countries. The realistic attitude assumed by both countries laid a sound foundation for developing bilateral relations in all fields.

In the past two years since Comrade Gorbachev's visit to China, the two countries extensively furthered cooperation in politics, the economy, trade, culture, science, and other fields; restored contacts between the two parties; and vigorously held talks on the issues left to us by history—the border issue and the issue of disarmament along the borders. Economic and trade relations, border contacts, and scientific cooperation between the two countries were constantly developed. However, all the possible means and resources for these purposes have not been used fully.

Dr. (Titarenko), chairman of the Far East Department, concluded: Comrade Jiang Zemin's visit to the USSR and his talks with the Soviet leader will further promote the development of Soviet-Chinese relations.

Northeast Asia

PRAVDA Views Kaifu Visit to ASEAN States

PM0605113191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 May 91 Second Edition p 5

[Editorial commentary: "Claim to Leadership"]

[Text] Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu has completed a nine-day tour of the countries of Southeast Asia, during which he visited five ASEAN countries: Malaysia, Brunei, Thailand, Singapore, and the Philippines.

The strengthening of ties with the ASEAN countries, which currently account for around 10 percent of Japan's foreign trade turnover and more than 8 percent of its foreign capital investment, has been and continues to be one of the most important tasks for Japanese foreign policy. The Japanese prime minister visits these countries periodically. However, on this trip Kaifu has also been looking at some new points.

The main issue is Kaifu's persistent claim to a new and larger role for Japan in the political life of the Asia-Pacific region. Never before in the postwar decades have Japanese heads of government visiting ASEAN countries demonstrated so directly their desire to turn Japan into the political leader of the region as Kaifu did in his talks with the heads of government of the five countries he visited. His public speech in Singapore—which, by all accounts, was aimed not so much at the audience of 300 representatives of the Singapore elite as at the public in all Southeast Asian countries—was particularly remarkable. Tokyo commentators assessed the speech as an unprecedented, bold step by Japanese diplomacy.

So just what did Kaifu say in the speech that was new? Above all, for the first time in the 46 years since the end

of the war the head of the Japanese Government publicly expressed repentance for the atrocities committed by the Japanese militarists on the Southeast Asian territory they occupied.

Naturally, these words of repentance have paid definite political dividends for Kaifu. But as for the Japanese guest's statements about current Japanese foreign policy's boundless love of peace... Kaifu's visit to Manila coincided with a visit by a military squadron of the Japanese "self-defense forces" to the U.S. naval base at Subic Bay in the Philippines. This is the very squadron which, despite the objections raised by Japanese supporters of the strict observance of the behests of Japan's peacetime Constitution, has currently been sent by Japan to the Near East to conduct minesweeping operations in the Persian Gulf, thereby setting a precedent for other such foreign expeditions—hitherto considered illegal—by the "self-defense forces." The Singapore public too has recently been displaying caution about the forthcoming arrival of the Japanese warships. For instance, in an interview with the press Lee Kuan Yew, the former prime minister of that country, stated the unambiguous fear that the resumption of what are, at first glance, peaceful foreign expeditions by the Japanese Navy "could have the same effect on Japan as liqueur chocolates would have on an alcoholic."

As for the economy, whatever the sides' differences on individual questions of their relations and world politics, the general feeling and outcome of Kaifu's talks with the leaders of five ASEAN countries were ultimately determined by those countries' profound interest in expanding business, economic, technical, and cultural contacts with Japan, and, in a number of cases, by their desire to obtain Japanese monetary, scientific, and technical aid.

There is no doubt that objective economic processes are currently leading to an increase in Japan's weight in the economy of the Asia-Pacific region. But it by no means follows from this that certain Japanese statesmen are right to think of Japan as political leader of the region. Such thoughts were typical of international relations in times past. But today times have changed.

IPU Delegate Urges 'High-Level' Summit on Korea

SK0605140591 Moscow International Service in Korean 1330 GMT 3 May 91

[Text] Today the participants of the 85th Inter-Parliamentary Union [IPU] meeting, which is being held in the capital of the DPRK, expressed worry over the instability of the situation in the world with regard to the difficult issues being created in the political, social, economic, and ecological fields.

According to the opinions of the representatives of the IPU meeting, they said that an important role can be played by achieving trust through the regulation of disputes that are occurring throughout the world, and by achieving cooperation among the people and nations of various countries.

(Yuliseiyev), head of the Soviet delegation, stated that the Soviet people's deputies are emphasizing that a good basis can be created to resolve pending world and regional issues through contacts and mutual understanding among the parliaments.

As an example, he appealed to the parliamentarians to support the Soviet Union's initiative on holding a high-level all-Asia conference. He said that this will contribute to creating a legal basis for resolving issues of controversy and regulating disputes among countries.

While talking about the development of dialogue between North and South Korea, (Yuliseiyev) confirmed the Soviet Union's willingness to participate in international cooperation to resolve the Korean issue.

Kim Yong-ho, delegate of the DPRK, said that Korea's reunification is not only for the purpose of achieving reunification between the people of North and South, but that this can also contribute to the cause of peace in the whole world.

Economic Cooperation To Continue With DPRK

LD0605204291 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 6 May 91

[Interview with Aleksandr Kachanov, first deputy USSR minister for foreign economic relations, by correspondent M. Belov in Pyongyang; date not given; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] In Pyongyang an agreement on trade cooperation has been signed for 1991 between the governments of the Soviet Union and the DPRK.

[Belov] Aleksandr Ivanovich, in what way does the document that has just been signed differ from the traditional annual protocols on the trade turnover?

[Kachanov] We shall work in a regime of cooperation. All our relations will be built on payment in freely convertible currency. In the trade and economic agreement, at the present time we envisage having lists of indicated goods which will essentially help to orient us so that we will be able to provide for cooperation in deliveries of goods on a certain register. Great attention is being paid to questions relating to the cancellation of the debts that the DPRK owes to the Soviet Union.

[Belov] And what goods will the DPRK supply to the USSR this year?

[Kachanov] The range of goods is very broad. It includes zinc and barites, needed in a whole range of goods that are extremely necessary for the Soviet Union's consumer market. On the part of the Soviet Union, we will supply coke and some petroleum goods, oil and petroleum products. Metals and a whole series of various types of equipment will be supplied which are very greatly needed for the development of the DPRK economy.

[Belov] And the last question: Will cooperation be continued on economic projects in the DPRK on which the Soviet Union has rendered assistance?

[Kachanov] Yes. We believe that this cooperation which has, I would say, a long history, should go on developing. In this connection, we have signed an agreement on granting credits to the DPRK amounting to $15 million for the further development of the construction of the east Pyongyang thermal power station

Mongolian Finance Minister on Debts

PM0705104191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 May 91 First Edition p 5

[Unattributed report under the "Sundry Reports" rubric: "MONTSAME (Mongolia)"]

[Text] It is necessary to tackle the problem of the country's debts from statewide and historical positions, A. Badzarhuu, finance minister of the MPR [Mongolian People's Republic], believes. He recently returned from Moscow, where he discussed the question of Mongolia's debts to the Soviet Union with his Soviet colleagues. He said in conversation with a MONTSAME correspondent that during the recent trip we familiarized the new leadership of the USSR Ministry of Finance with our materials and proposals with regard to resolving the debts issue, and exchanged opinions on this problem. The MPR continues to adhere firmly to the position of making a comprehensive examination of the debts issue, he pointed out. The MPR Government seeks to resolve this question as quickly as possible. A debt of 10 billion [currency unspecified] is too large an amount for Mongolia with its population of 2 million. The most important thing today is to accurately determine the size of the debt in convertible currency. The debts problem will be discussed at the next session of the Mongolian-Soviet Intergovernmental Commission scheduled for May this year in Ulaanbaatar.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

U.S. Military Bases Talks Impasse Viewed

HK0705051591 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 6 May 91

[Kiril Mikhailov commentary]

[Text] The issue of money and duration of stay for the military bases were the main issues of contention between Manila and Washington during negotiations which went on for almost a year. On the issue of duration, both sides have still not agreed on how many years Subic Naval Base and Clark Air Base—whose term expires in September this year—should be allowed to remain.

Washington is asking for its facilities to stay for 10-12 years, but Manila is amenable to only five years. On the matter of money, Manila wants the Americans to pay $825 million yearly, while Washington says it can only pay $560 million.

One main point has stood out during the talks in Manila: Time is money. According to Richard Armitage, head of the Washington delegation, the amount of aid to be given to the Philippines depends on the time Manila gives for the duration of the bases' stay.

Reports say Manila profits from the facilities each year amount to almost one billion dollars, only part of which goes to boost the country's economy.

When the talks began, disagreements between both sides quickly arose. One of these centered on the decision by the U.S. Congress to cut the yearly payment for the military facilities as well as the funds for the mini-Marshall Plan, which are needed to strengthen the Philippine economy.

On the issue of economic aid from the United States, Manila says that Washington failed to pay $222.5 million last year. This action has been perceived by Manila as a ploy at a time when the bases talks were going on, to warn that if the bases do not remain, no financial assistance will be forthcoming.

Washington, for its part, looks on Manila's maneuvers as those of taking undue advantage during the negotiations.

In the midst of this scenario, it has not been announced if new talks will take place. Manila says the door remains open for new talks, and relations with Washington should remain open so a new treaty can be reached by both sides.

Not much time is left, since the present agreement expires in September this year.

Near East & South Asia

Bessmertnykh Previews Talks in Israel

TA0705051291 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 0405 GMT 7 May 91

[Excerpt] And now for the intense political weekend that is coming up and during which both the U.S. and Soviet foreign ministers will be visiting Israel. Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh will be the first to come, on Friday. In Moscow he told our correspondent Gid'on Kouts that he anticipates holding very good talks in Israel and he added he will bring constructive ideas on a Middle East peace agreement with him.

Following his meeting yesterday with French President Francois Mitterrand, Soviet President Gorbachev asserted that various frameworks for continuing the peace process were possible. Our correspondent Gid'on Kouts reports from Moscow.

[Begin recording] [Kouts] Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh said that he had to arrive in Israel

before he could speak about the resumption of diplomatic relations and the peace process. Bessmertnykh, however, expects to hold very good talks on those issues.

[Bessmertnykh, in English] Well, first I have got to get there. This is the first visit by a Soviet Foreign Minister to Israel, and I am looking forward to a productive discussion with the government—a discussion of the bilateral relationship and also the Middle East settlements.

[Kouts translates above remarks and asks whether Bessmertnykh will bring new ideas]

[Bessmertnykh, in English] Well, I do not know whether they are new or old, but I think that they are all constructive.

[Kouts translates above remarks] [passage omitted]

Bessmertnykh Mideast Tour Viewed

PM0705104391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 May 91 Union Edition p 4

[D. Velikiy report: "The Near East: The Visit Should Provide Some Guidelines"]

[Text] Cairo—The news of the imminent visit of USSR Foreign Minister A. Bessmertnykh to the Near East region was received with interest in Egypt.

Observers note that the first visit to this region by the current Soviet Foreign Ministry head indicates the important place that Near East problems occupy in Soviet foreign policy. And equally the fact that the USSR, as AL-AKHBAR, for example, points out, does not intend to play a minor role in a Near East settlement. The fact that the Soviet Union has agreed in principle to participate in a peace conference at which the complex of problems in Arab-Israeli relations could be resolved in stages can be considered a definite step in the right direction.

This is one of two main questions, the Arab and Israeli mass media believe, on which attention will be focused at the talks to be held, so it is reported, in Syria, Jordan, Israel, and Egypt. As Egyptian radio reported, official Tel Aviv expressed "cautious optimism" that the USSR can exert a positive influence on the state of Arab-Israeli relations and hope that, as a result of the Soviet minister's visit, a decision will be reached on restoring full diplomatic relations between the USSR and Israel. Egyptian observers agree in assessing recent Israeli leadership statements about continuing to construct settlements in the occupied territories as extremely negative and jeopardizing the whole complex of an Arab-Israeli settlement.

Another question that Egypt expects to be the focus of the talks is the security system in the area, which is in direct proximity to Soviet borders.

The question of regional security has become a constant and fundamental one on the political agenda of numerous meetings and talks that have been held in this area of the world following the upheavals of war there. A meeting of foreign ministers of the Gulf Cooperation Council held in Kuwait, for example, was devoted to its discussion. There, inter alia, questions connected with the formation of inter-Arab forces based on Egyptian and Syrian forces were discussed. The political itinerary of the Soviet foreign minister's visit goes through the capitals of these states, and it is expected that the talks on this subject will be able to lay down clear guidelines in the positions of all the interested parties.

Kurds Said To Still Fear Iraqi Reprisals

PM0705090591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 May 91 Union Edition p 4

[Interview with Mahmud Osman, member of the Iraqi Front of Kurdistan leadership, by correspondent G. Charodeyev: "The Kurds Want to Live in Their Own Land"]

[Text] There was a public meeting on the Kurdish problem at the Soviet Committee for Solidarity With Asian and African Countries. Eminent academics, diplomats, and delegations from the Iraqi and Soviet Kurds participated in the debate. The guests included Dr. Mahmud Osman, member of the Iraqi Front of Kurdistan leadership.

"Recently I have traveled virtually the length and breadth of Europe," he said in an interview for an IZVESTIYA correspondent. "Everywhere they want to know what is happening in northern Iraq. It is estimated that so far around two million Kurds have left cities and villages in Iraqi Kurdistan, headed for neighboring countries following the government forces' counteroffensive. The reason for their flight is overt terror on the part of Saddam Husayn's regime. The facts also show that about 85 percent of the territory of Kurdistan has been scorched and there is hardly a single village left. Soldiers of the Republican Guard have killed more than 100,000 Kurds. Many were killed with napalm, phosphorus bombs, and mines scattered all over northern Iraq. Kurds are also being driven out of their country by memories of the use of chemical weapons against them in 1988...

"The situation would seem to be returning to normal—Iraq has said that forces have been withdrawn from the Kurdish city of Zakho. The multinational force in the area is organizing a so-called 'security zone' for the Kurdish refugees. Thousands of Kurds, naturally, would like to return home immediately. But many fear that Husayn will give the order for new reprisals against the civilian population once the Americans and British leave Kurdistan. In one instance some Kurds went home, believing the authorities' promises. But the soldiers found dozens of reasons to arrest them and shoot them without trial... We want to live in our own land. But this requires the confidence that people's safety is provided for by the U.S. and allied forces and UN formations."

[Charodeyev] So the Kurds continue to distrust Husayn? But it is common knowledge that the Iraqi Front of Kurdistan is continuing talks with the government in Baghdad.

[Osman] We want political solutions to the Kurdish problem. And if we fire shots, it is in self-defense. As for the current talks with the Iraqi leadership, our Front has again put forward three basic demands. First, the Kurds in Iraq must have real autonomy, the creation of which, incidentally, Husayn himself once supported. It must possess the essential political and juridical rights, enshrined in the Iraqi constitution. The Kurds and the government in Baghdad have long argued over certain areas of Kurdistan which are rich in natural resources. It is clear that the regime is doing its utmost to eject the indigenous people—the Kurds—from those areas. We are demanding that these lands be part of the Kurds' autonomous entity.

Second, what Iraqi society desperately needs is democracy, not just in words but in action—the introduction of a multiparty system and freedom of expression and of the press.

Third and last, we would like a future treaty with Baghdad on the settlement of the Kurdish problem to be buttressed by international, including UN-sponsored guarantees."

[Charodeyev] What is your view of the world community's reaction to recent events in northern Iraq and the humanitarian aid the United States and its allies are giving to Kurdish refugees?

[Osman] The war in Kurdistan has reverberated around the world. At last people everywhere know about the crimes that are being committed in Iraq. It was only as a result of outside intervention, by the United States and its coalition allies, that it was possible to halt mass reprisals against the Kurds.

I also know of the demonstrations that have been held in Moscow, involving Soviet Kurds. I admit that, had it not been for the moral support of Kurds in Syria, Turkey, Iran or the Soviet Union, we would not have been able to cope with the brutal reality alone.

The Kurds did not support the signing of the treaty of friendship and cooperation between the USSR and Iraq, and they were right. The weapons your country started supplying to Husayn were used by him against the civilian population too.

Criticism of Stance on Kurds Answered

LD0605183791 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Arabic 1400 GMT 6 May 91

[Excerpts] It seems that a faint light has appeared at the end of the dark tunnel of the Kurdish problem. In a meeting which took place recently between representatives of the Kurdish organizations and the Iraqi president, they agreed to grant the Kurdish Iraqis wider autonomy.

This is a realistic step, not only toward establishing peace and security in northern Iraq and saving hundreds of thousands of miserable Kurds, but also toward solving the chronic Kurdish problem in general.

At the same time the flow of foodstuff, medicine, blankets, and clothes continues via the international channels to the centers established for giving aid to the 1.5 million Kurdish refugees, whether in neighboring Iran and Turkey or in Northern Iraq. Also, security pockets are being established for the Kurdish refugees under the auspices of the United Nations. This idea was warmly supported by UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar.

However, the presence of foreign troops in the areas of the refugee camps in the Iraqi territories unfortunately introduces a dangerous element of tension. The participants in a roundtable organized recently at the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with the Afro-Asian Peoples dedicated to the Kurdish problem discussed this point.

Mahammud Uthman, member of the leadership of the Kurdistan Liberation Front, talked in the roundtable. He pointed out that the talks in Baghdad became possible because of the balanced realistic stance of the Kurdistan Liberation Front. Mahmud Uthman said that we have always pursued a peaceful solution of the Kurdish problem. Therefore, our actions were characterized with bravery and patience.

Muhammad Uthman added that we have always wanted peace and have never had any aim but to defend ourselves. The Soviet side should know this well because it participated in our negotiations with the Iraqi leadership in 1970.

We hoped the Soviet Union would have given appropriate attention not only to the Iraqi side of the Kurdish problem, but also to the whole issue in general. We are very dismayed because the Soviet side did not give the necessary help to the Kurds in these difficult times. The Soviet side did not even send its journalists to Iraqi Kurdistan in order to cover the news of the tragic events there.

Muhammad Uthman said: We came to the Soviet Union to present our stance explicitly and honorably, and to inform the Soviet leadership about this stance. For this purpose we met Yevgeniy Primakov, member of the Presidential Council.

All the participants in the roundtable did not recognize the truth of the claims of the Iraqi Kurdish representatives against the Soviet Union.

Aleksandr (Kislop), director of the roundtable and assistant chairman of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with the Afro-Asian Peoples, considered these claims as unfounded due to the fact that the Kurdish side was not sufficiently informed about the realistic Soviet contributions toward the international efforts to help the Kurds.

Concerning the Kurdish representatives' wish for Soviet troops to be sent to northern Iraq, the Soviet representatives participating in the roundtable stressed that it was impossible to solve the Kurdish problem by force and in a way which would harm Iraqi sovereignty. In his reply poet Abdullah (? Pachio), representative of Iraqi Kurdistan Front, found it necessary to explain the reason

for the deterioration of the Kurdish problem. Abdullah (?Pachio) says: They often ask: Since autonomy has been granted, why does the movement to liberate the Kurds gather its forces here in particular? The uprising of the Kurdish population is taking place in both Iran and Turkey. However, the whole disaster is that the Iraqi leadership, behind the autonomy, applies a policy of Arabizing Kurdistan. The Kurds are being deported from their towns and villages and replaced by Arabs. The foreign journalists who come to Kurdistan now hardly see any Kurdish villages. The number of Kurdish villages was 4,000, but now Kurdistan is nearly empty. Even the streams have been sealed with reinforced concrete so that they cannot be utilized. [passage omitted]

Naturally, the issues of effective solidarity with the Kurdish people who are tragically sufferring have occupied the forefront of discussions among the participants in the roundtable. In this context (Leonid Midrietkov), Soviet scientist and writer, who specializes in Near and Middle Eastern affairs, said:

[Begin recording] [(Midrietkov) in Russian fading to Arabic translation] The Kurds had, and still have, friends. When we concluded the Friendship and Cooperation Treaty with Iraq, this friendship included the Iraqi Kurds and Arabs equally. We now defend this friendship according to the treaty. The cooperation between us was at a state level, but our friendship was, and is still, with the Arabs and Kurds.

When the war started in the Arabian Gulf, the Soviet Union, as you know, was not united in a single opinion about that war. The newspapers included comment by the so-called pro-Americans and pro-Arabs. I am on the side of the pro-Arabs.

We said that it was not difficult to predict the victory of the United States over Saddam Husayn. But this victory will be neither complete nor final, and could lead to tragic repercussions.

In this context our fears have been fulfilled. What is the difference between the Soviet and American stances toward the Iraqi aggression? It is said that the Americans wanted to punish Saddam Husayn, but we tried to rescue him. No. The difference is not in this. Contrary to the Americans, we were afraid that it is the Iraqi people and not the Iraqi regime that will be punished, and this is what actually happened. [end recording] [passage omitted]

In conclusion, Aleksandr (Kislop), director of the roundtable, read the appeal by the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Afro-Asian Peoples to the UN Secretary General and international public opinion regarding the events in Iraqi Kurdistan. It was pointed out in the appeal that the tragedy of the Kurds is one of the severest tragedies in the world, and that kurdish people are exposed to unparalleled pains and crises.

The Soviet Committee for Solidarity with the Afro-Asian Peoples appeals to the United Nations and the other international social organizations to do everything possible to rescue the Kurds.

'Major Success' of Lowgar Operation Hailed

PM0605162391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 May 91 First Edition p 3

[V. Stepanov report: "Operation in Lowgar. Major Success for Afghan Army"]

[Text] Civilian vehicles have once again begun to move along the Kabul-Gardeyz highway. Tribal leaders, prominent representatives of the clergy, and businessmen attended the ceremonial opening of this road which was until recently under blockade by antigovernment forces.

This event was possible due to the major victory won a few days ago by Afghan Armed Forces in the Lowgar operation. Army units along with National Guard and people's militia subunits engaged in fierce fighting with the thousands-strong enemy grouping with its tanks, armored personnel carriers, artillery pieces, and other modern armaments.

I must point out that leaders of the armed opposition saw the Lowgar sector as the most suitable springboard for an offensive on Kabul. It is no coincidence that antigovernment detachments did everything they could to gain a firm foothold in this area immediately after the Soviet troops withdrew from here. Covered engineer structures were built here, a large number of positions were equipped for delivering fire from various weapons, and a dense system of mine fields and explosive obstacles was laid. However, all this did not save the oppositionists from defeat.

The operation to rout the enemy grouping was led by N. Azimi, Afghan first deputy defense minister. The success of the government offensive was helped by missile and bomb attacks on the enemy's positions. After smashing fierce enemy resistance, subunits of the Afghan Armed Forces advanced 27 km in three days of fighting and gained total control of Kolangar district and the Waghjan gorge. In the course of the operation 40 weapons and munitions dumps were captured, along with 10 tanks and armored personnel carriers, other hardware, and arms. It was announced at a news conference at the scene of the recent fighting that the enemy lost up to 500 men killed and as many injured. It is worthy of note that the corpses of Pakistani and Arab advisers and mercenaries were found among the dead. Two Pakistani citizens fighting on the side of the armed Afghan opposition were taken prisoner. Government troops lost 10 men killed and 35 wounded.

This successful operation has considerably broadened the safety zone around Kabul. The victory in Lowgar has convincingly demonstrated the good training and high combat morale among the defenders of the Afghan state. The myth that the Afghan Republic's Armed Forces are

unable independently to deal aggressors a worthy rebuff has been dealt another blow.

Afghan Rebel Government Said 'Disintegrating'

LD0605103391 Moscow TASS in English 1022 GMT 6 May 91

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Semyonenko]

[Text] Islamabad May 6 TASS—The "provisional government" of Afghan Mujahidin, formed under pressure from Washington and Islamabad in the Pakistani city of Rawalpindi in February, 1989, has proven unable to pool the efforts of armed opposition in its struggle against the Republic of Afghanistan. It is disintegrating.

The resignation of the "minister of the interior", leader of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan Yunus Khalis, was announced on Sunday. The "foreign minister", leader of the same party Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, previously left the "cabinet", because of the shortage of funds, only four out of the 28 ministries and other sections of the "provisional government" function at present.

The Pakistani press reports today that Khalis resigned because of acute differences with leaders of other groups of the Peshawar "Alliance of Seven" included in the "provisional government". They differ over how to continue the struggle against the Kabul administration.

Addressing a news conference in Peshawar on Sunday, Khalis accused his colleagues in the "provisional government" of plotting to prevent an Islamic government from coming to power in Afghanistan.

He disapproved of the recent meeting in Geneva between "supreme justice" of mujahidin government Sayed Gailani and President Najibullah, as well as recent contacts made by "minister of reconstruction" Bruhanuddin Rabbani with Soviet Ambassador to Pakistan V.P. Yakunin. In addition, Khalis accused Hikmatyar of maintaining secret contacts with Kabul authorities and disapproved of Washington's direct military and financial aid to mujahidin field commanders, bypassing the "provisional government".

Summing up his accusations, Khalis said that he cannot remain in the "provisional government". At the same time he said that other members of his group will remain in the "cabinet".

Sub-Saharan Africa

Diplomat Comments on Relations With South Africa

LD0605183691 Moscow TASS in English 1750 GMT 6 May 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Nikishov]

[Text] Moscow May 6 TASS—Changes that occured in South Africa in the past one and a half years and a real prospect for a political settlement of the problem of dismantling apartheid required new steps on behalf of the Soviet Union towards that country, Vladimir Kazimirov, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry African Department, told TASS today.

The Soviet Union resolutely supported the negotiations in South Africa and said it was prepared to promote the process. The recent agreement to exchange sections of interest of the Soviet Union and South Africa, opened in Austrian embassies in Moscow and Pretoria, should be regarded in the light of these developments, Kazimirov said.

The move does not mean the establishment of diplomatic or consular relations. The Soviet section, which opened in April, aims to study the situation in South Africa, maintain regular contacts with all participants in a domestic settlement, including the government and anti-apartheid democratic forces, and consider possible cooperation in the trade, economic and other spheres, the diplomat said.

"The Soviet interest in a democratic and stable South Africa is dictated by principled political concerns and the objective need to forge cooperation in the trade, economic and other spheres with this rich and developed country," he said.

"Apartheid was and remains the only obstacle to such cooperation," he said.

Kazimirov said attempts by several Soviet enterprises and organisations to forge contacts with South African business circles regardless of international sanctions were "somewhat preliminary."

This has become possible following the decentralisation of ties with other states and the weakening of administrative and state structures, he said.

"Hasty steps in this direction could harm Soviet political prestige and our long-term interests in South Africa," he stressed.

In this connection the Soviet Foreign Ministry does its best to familiarise Soviet organisations with Soviet international commitments in the area, he said.

"On the whole, despite certain speculations, our principled policy towards apartheid has not changed. We firmly stand for its early elimination through a political settlement," he said.

"The Soviet Union strictly follows international sanctions against the Pretoria regime and believes that the establishment of diplomatic relations and the development of full-scale bilateral contacts would be possible only when the dismantling of apartheid becomes irreversible," Kazimirov stressed.

Official Discusses Disengagement From Angola

MB0605144291 London BBC World Service in English 0635 GMT 6 May 91

[Telephone interview with (Nodari Simuniya), deputy director of the Institute of International Relations, in Moscow, by BBC correspondent Fergus Nicoll, in London, on 5 May—recorded]

[Text] During the cold war years the antagonism between the Soviet Union and the United States was reflected all around the world, not least in Africa. Now, both sides are involved in ending conflicts that a few years ago they would have been fostering. It is happening in Angola, where the Soviets supported the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] government of President dos Santos while the Americans backed Jonas Savimbi's UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]. Last week's provisional peace accord reached in Portugal has the blessing of both superpowers with the Soviets joining the Americans in announcing their approval of the results. The Soviet Foreign Ministry has even said that Moscow is ready to end armed supplies to the Angolan Government before a formal cease-fire.

Well, I called (Nodari Simuniya), deputy director of Moscow's International Relations Institute, and I asked him: Would the Soviets be pulling out of Angola for good?

[Begin recording] [(Simuniya)] Practically we started. It is a long process. It already started at least a year and half ago. We started diminishing our not official but military presence in this country. At the same time, we warned the leadership of this country that our economic relationship and cooperation must undergo also perestroyka. It must be more and more commercial and not just a kind of official assistance without any response from the Angolan side. What happened just a couple of days ago is just a logical consequence of change of our policy (?both) toward Angola particularly and toward all Third World countries in general.

[Nicoll] So, when you went to Angola some 18 months ago, were you there just to tell Soviet personnel in Angola that it was time for them to go home and what they were doing there was something that was essentially out of date?

[(Simuniya)] Yes. I had meetings not only with the Angolan leadership and some public [words indistinct] but also I met some Soviet officials in embassy, our advisers, our economic assistance groups, and even our military groups. I told them precisely what you mentioned. I told them that we have a lot to do at our home, in our economy, which is in deep crisis, and it is not a correct place to stay in Angola, far away from your own country and to do the job, which is not effective at all.

[Nicoll] Do you think that President Gorbachev will be putting more conditions on help to countries in Africa in the same way that the French have been doing recently—making development assistance conditional on more democracy, for example?

[(Simuniya)] Well, pratically we have already started doing this. It's not something new anymore for us. What we call new thinking, this is a part of new thinking. We are reconsidering all our economic cooperations with the different countries. The major part of our economic cooperation with all developing countries will be based on commercial, mutual beneficial, I can say so. [sentence as heard]

[Nicoll] But do you think that everybody in Moscow is going to welcome this kind of attitude towards Africa? After all, there is quite a powerful conservative lobby that wouldn't approve of what President Gorbachev or the former foreign minister, Shevardnadze, were trying to do in this kind of disengagement.

[(Simuniya)] Well, I agree with you. There is really a conservative [words indistinct] forces in my country. But the problem is that they are influential just ideologically but they have no economic power anymore. They cannot change anything. We are not in a position to continue our previous strategy of [word indistinct] evaluation. It is no more realistic [words indistinct] it was not realistic anyhow, even in the past. But today it is evident [words indistinct]. [end recording]

TASS Assesses Soviet-Ethiopian Relations

LD0605152491 Moscow TASS in English 1130 GMT 6 May 91

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Nikishov]

[Text] Moscow May 6 TASS—Today marks 14 years since the declaration on basic principles of friendly relations and cooperation between the Soviet Union and Ethiopia was signed.

Guided by this and other documents regulating relation between the two countries, the Soviet Union is striving to develop mutually advantageous cooperation. It strongly favours preserving Ethiopia's territorial integrity and national sovereignity, as statements of Soviet officials indicate.

A representative of the Soviet Foreign Ministry recently expressed support for the new initiative by the extraordinary session of the national assembly (Shengo) of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia to settle the Ethiopian civil war through negotiations between all opposition forces.

The Shengo declared that legal guarantees will be provided for the participation of all opposition forces in Ethiopia's political life. The Shengo also proposed a ceasefire and other measures to end the civil war.

"The Soviet Union is for an early settlement of the Ethiopian conflict by peaceful political means",

Vladimir Tokin, the Soviet Foreign Ministry's African Countries Directorate deputy chief, told TASS.

Commenting on the recent serious aggravation of the situation in Ethiopia, he admitted that a civil war in that country had assumed such proportions that it could precipitate national disaster. He said that none would gain from such developments.

"The history of the many-year conflict shows that a military success by one of the sides only serves to escalate the conflict. Therefore the way out should be sought through national reconciliation, achieving compromise at a round table," Tokin said. He said that a ceasefire between the opposing sides would be initial, indispensable step.

East Europe

Gorbachev Discusses Change With Bulgarian Leader

LD0605165591 Moscow TASS in English 1638 GMT 6 May 91

[Text] Moscow May 6 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev and Alexander Lilov, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, in a meeting at the Soviet Communist Party headquarters here today held a substantive exchange of views on profound changes that are taking place in the USSR and Bulgaria.

The conversation, marked by the spirit of comradeship and mutual understanding, also concerned the two parties' activities at the current stage.

Specific as these changes are in each country, the two leaders pointed to the great importance of consolidating forces adhering to the positions of consent and common sense in the interests of political and economic stability.

Within the context of processes taking place in Eastern Europe, the two men paid much attention to Soviet-Bulgarian relations that are deep rooted in history and have rich traditions.

Gorbachev and Lilov agreed that the preservation and multiplication of all things positive in these relations meet the vital interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Bulgaria, and peace and cooperation in Europe.

Gorbachev and Lilov favoured further development of contacts and ties between the Soviet Communist Party and the Bulgarian Socialist Party.

Ivashko Receives Bulgarian Delegation

PM0705135991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 May 91 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 6 May V.A. Ivashko, deputy general secretary of the CPSU Central Committeee, met with A. Lilov, chairman of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Supreme Council, who is in Moscow at the CPSU Central Committee's invitation.

Their conversation, which was held in a friendly and constructive atmosphere, examined topical questions concerning the development of good-neighborliness between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria and cooperation between the CPSU and the BSP.

L. Kyuchukov, deputy chairman of the BSP Supreme Council, and G. Bozhinov, member of the BSP Supreme Council Presidium, took part in the conversation on the Bulgarian side, with V.S. Rykin, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, on the Soviet side.

Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister on Budapest Talks

AU0605103291 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 29 Apr 91 pp 1, 6

[Interview with Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Kvitsinskiy by Istvan Zalai; place and date not given: "Neither Success, Nor Failure"—first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Excerpts] Yuliy Kvitsinskiy talked to our correspondent immediately after his Budapest talks. [passage omitted]

[Zalai] What are the essential differences of opinion regarding questions of security?

[Kvitsinskiy] I think your press has written much about the essence of the differences, our press has not. On the way from Prague, I managed to acquaint myself with the articles. According to these articles, the subject of the debate is that the two sides are not to participate in such military-political alliances that could be directed against either side, and the debate also concerns some of the wording that prohibits a third country from using the transport and telecommunications systems or the infrastructure of one side against the other.

[Zalai] Are these not two different questions?

[Kvitsinskiy] No, they are logically interconnected by their nature. For example, participation in a hostile alliance can naturally raise the question of one country's territory being used against the other, and this problem can be resolved by staying away from this kind of contract. In my view, it is justified to raise the question in this way, because we are intending to set up such a long-term structure between the two countries that will make the two sides independent of the kind of political groupings that may be in power now, in five years', or in ten years' time. The contract would program the politicians to work in a good-neighborly atmosphere, and to reject any attempts that could cause damage to the other side. It appears that such a long-term concept could protect us from all kinds of surprises, which we cannot foresee in detail, but we have to bear in mind their

theoretical possibility, because we are talking about a contract that is to last 15-20 years.

[Zalai] Several experts believe that the Soviet position has toughened under the pressure of the military leadership in the last few months. What is your opinion about this?

[Kvitsinskiy] It is untrue. Our position on these questions has been the same from the beginning as it is now.

[Zalai] According to Hungarian opinion, by accepting the Soviet standpoint, our country's sovereignty would be restricted.

[Kvitsinskiy] All contracts involve the limitation of the signatories' sovereignty. Furthermore, I am not sure whose sovereignty would be limited more, Hungary's or the Soviet Union's, as far as the two sides' possibilities in foreign policy are concerned. In theory, such limitations could fully conform to the resolutions of the documents of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which state that it depends on the signatories whether they join various alliances or groups. Therefore, if we agreed not to participate in such alliances, that would completely fit into the context of the Helsinki resolutions, and thus the Paris Charter, about a new Europe. This would be perfectly normal.

[Zalai] Specifically, which organizations do you think we would have to stay away from: NATO, the Western European Union, or the Common Market?

[Kvitsinskiy] I would say that, apart from NATO, I have not considered the possibility of either country joining any other hostile alliances for the time being. At any rate, specific possibilities do not seem to exist. Our partners sometimes try to argue that including such a paragraph would mean that, in theory, the Soviet Union could object to Hungary's or the CSFR's full European Community membership, including also a possible military-political component in the future. In my view, this is a far-fetched supposition. During the Prague conference that I participated in before the Budapest talks, NATO and European Community representatives told me that Hungary had no chance of becoming a full member of the European Community in the next 10-15 years, because if it did so in the near future, that would result in the collapse of the Hungarian economy, and it would involve very grave consequences.

It was mentioned at the conference that Portugal had taken 17 years to prepare for its EC membership. Therefore, I do not understand why we could not make a contract for 10-15 years, given that full EC membership would not be on the agenda. [passage omitted]

[Zalai] Previously, both sides linked Prime Minister Antall's and Foreign Minister Jeszenszky's Moscow visit to the basic agreement. Has this standpoint changed because of the delay in the talks?

[Kvitsinskiy] Now that the timing of the agreement's completion has become somewhat uncertain, the timing of the visits has also become uncertain. In light of the new situation, we should probably look at this question differently, and make a decision later. We could wait until our agreement is completed, thus the foreign minister's visit would be linked to the initialling of the agreement, which could be followed by the prime minister's visit and his signing of the document.

West Europe

IZVESTIYA Previews Mitterrand-Gorbachev Talks

PM0705082591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 May 91 Union Edition p 1

[Diplomatic correspondent M. Yusin report under the general heading: "Francois Mitterrand's Brief Visit to Moscow"]

[Text] French President F. Mitterrand arrives in the USSR on a brief working visit 6 May. The French Embassy has told us that he will fly into Moscow at 1630. Mitterrand will spend just a few hours in the Soviet capital. Talks with Mikhail Gorbachev will take place at a dacha in Novo-Ogarevo, near Moscow. First there will be a one-on-one conversation, and then a working supper. At the same time Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, who is accompanying Mitterrand, will meet with his Soviet colleague, Aleksandr Bessmertnykh. On the conclusion of the talks (at approximately 2030) the two presidents will hold a news conference. Then the French delegation will fly to Paris. Embassy spokesmen did not confirm the reports that have appeared that a meeting is planned between Mitterrand and Boris Yeltsin or other leaders of the Russian Federation.

Mitterrand's visit is taking place within the framework of regular Soviet-French political consultations. The last meeting between the two countries' leaders took place in Paris last November, when Gorbachev participated in the CSCE. One month before that the Soviet president paid an official visit to France.

According to Vitaliy Churkin, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, "the most urgent contemporary problems—European topics, disarmament, the Near East, bilateral relations"—will be touched on in the Gorbachev-Mitterrand talks.

To all appearances, questions of economic cooperation will occupy a significant place. The French have recently accumulated quite a few complaints against the Soviet side.

The Foreign Ministry believes that European problems (which had to be sacrificed to some extent at the previous Paris meeting owing to the crisis in the Persian Gulf) will prevail this time. France intends to broach the question of the Soviet Union's observance of the treaty on the reduction of conventional arms in Europe. The USSR, for its part, would like to ascertain how Paris sees France's role within NATO and the evolution of U.S.-French relations. This question has assumed special

urgency for the Soviet Union because a definite rapprochement has become apparent between Paris and Washington in recent months and has taken the form of French participation in combat operations in the Persian Gulf on the U.S. side, as well as the strengthening of the French Army's ties with NATO military structures.

In the opinion of our diplomats, the French idea of a European confederation (advanced by Mitterrand at the end of 1989), which is "consonant with the Soviet concept of the common European home," will also be touched on in the presidents' talks.

One of the main topics will undoubtedly be the situation in the USSR, the threat of the Union's disintegration—which strikes Paris as extremely undesirable—Gorbachev's relations with Yeltsin, and continued Western support for the Soviet leadership.

As for the foreign ministers' talks, both the Foreign Ministry and the embassy believe that the Near East will be the central topic there. Particularly as Dumas has just returned from a tour of countries in the region, and on 8 May Bessmertnykh is setting out on a Near East tour (taking in Syria, Jordan, Israel, and Egypt). In the estimation of Soviet diplomats, the positions of the USSR and France with regard to a Near East settlement are very close now. To all appearances, the preparations for an international conference on the Near East and the forms of participation in it of the PLO, the United Nations, and the EC will be the center of attention in the talks.

PRAVDA Reports Meeting

PM0705105591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 May 91 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Meeting Between M.S. Gorbachev and F. Mitterrand"]

[Text] The latest Soviet-French summit working meeting, held in an atmosphere of friendly mutual understanding, took place at Novo-Ogarevo near Moscow 6 May.

President M.S. Gorbachev of the Soviet Union and President Francois Mitterrand of the French Republic, having discussed events that have taken place in Europe and the world since their last talk in November 1990, compared their viewpoints. Once again a conclusion was reached about the proximity of views of the two leaders, and of their positions on problems such as developing the all-European process, settling the Near East situation, and ensuring global stability and security.

The will of both countries to deepen and expand the all-around cooperation between them in their mutual interests and the interests of all member countries of the Helsinki process was reaffirmed.

The presidents also agreed to maintain constant contacts between themselves in the future.

'Cooperation in Europe' Stressed

LD0605221791 Moscow TASS in English 2155 GMT 6 May 91

[Text] Moscow May 6 TASS—President Francois Mitterrand of France on Monday met Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in a country house in Novo-Ogarevo outside Moscow.

Tete-a-tete meetings between both presidents have become a good tradition reflecting the proximity of the two countries and their desire to promote new relations in Europe and the world.

The presidents discussed events that occurred since their last meeting in Paris last November.

Gorbachev welcomed Mitterrand as a doyen among elected heads of state in Europe.

Gorbachev said that Mitterrand, who has been holding the post of the French president since May 10, 1981, has made a notable contribution to state administration in France and wished him success.

Gorbachev expressed hope that trust and readiness to cooperate between the presidents will develop.

Gorbachev and Mitterrand noted that the Soviet Union and France, acting separately and jointly, have promoted radical changes in Europe and the world.

The Soviet president said that a crucial moment has come: what has been done is now being tested by life. That's why it is important to do everything possible in order not to discredit the progress made.

Efforts should be made to prevent deep-going and complex processes and new tendencies in Europe from assuming chaotic forms, which could turn the world back to the Cold War era.

The Paris Charter for a new Europe gives a general concept, which must be filled with substance and put into practice.

The Soviet Union's experience and its perestroika show that nothing costs the country as much as its backwardness in politics.

Mitterrand supported this approach and made a thorough and interesting analysis of possible measures to be taken to stop the growing instability in Europe and improve the situation on the continent by pushing forward the European process and making all European countries realise the need to respect each other's interests.

The Soviet and French presidents stressed the need to immediately begin working out and taking concrete measures to promote cooperation in Europe, and called for the implementation of Dutch premier's plan for European energy community.

Both presidents discussed other projects with the participation of the Soviet Union and France. They agreed to continue discussions in order to reach concrete proposals and decisions.

Gorbachev supported the idea to hold an informal conference of political and public figures from European countries in Prague this May to discuss various fields of cooperation on the continent and said that Soviet representatives will take part in it.

After a short break, the meeting was continued. It was attended by Roland Dumas, Bertrand Dufourcq, A. Lauvergeon, Pierre Morel and Gerard Timsit for the French side and Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, Yuriy Dubinin, Vadim Zagladin and A. Glukhov for the Soviet side.

The sides discussed issues relating to arms reduction in Europe and expressed readiness to overcome differences in their positions in order to promote the implementation of the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe by its signatories and further progress in this direction.

They discussed the situation in the Near and Middle East and noted the proximity of positions on key issues of a peaceful settlement in this region.

Both sides expressed confidence that the possibility has appeared to achieve fair and durable peace in the region. This possibility, however, can be missed if the concerned sides fail to bring their approaches together and sit down at a negotiating table.

The Soviet Union and France will do their best to promote a peace process.

The Soviet and French delegations agreed that time has come to abandon the use of force. The Gulf war has shown that conflicts can be settled by the world community and the United Nations, using political methods.

Discussing bilateral relations, the sides agreed that the Soviet Union and France should promote the effective implementation of the Treaty of Accord and Cooperation signed last October and other agreements.

Both presidents will exert personal control over talks on major issues of business cooperation.

Gorbachev and Mitterrand agreed to continue personal contacts.

TASS Reports News Conference

LD0605221491 Moscow TASS in English 2144 GMT 6 May 91

[Text] Moscow May 6 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev pointed to a great similarity in views and approaches to issues he discussed today with President Francois Mitterrand of France in the Moscow suburb of Novo-Ogarevo.

Opening a joint press conference on the completion of the Soviet- French talks, Gorbachev said that the talks focused on European processes, a settlement in the Middle East and bilateral relations.

"Both sides needed this meeting. I am satisfied by what we discussed," Gorbachev stressed.

Mikhail Gorbachev said the meeting was held several days before May 10, when Mitterrand will celebrate his tenth year as the French President.

Gorbachev praised Mitterrand's contribution to important changes in world and European politics and life in France.

President Francois Mitterrand of France said he plans to continue the dialogue with the Soviet leadership.

Commenting on talks with Gorbachev, Mitterrand said the sides discussed specific European developments connected with the forming of CSCE structures, projects concerning the European confederation and economic cooperation.

The sides also discussed the aftermath of the Gulf war, including developments in northern and southern Iraq, Mitterrand told reporters.

The sides analysed the first steps towards settling conflicts in the region, including the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The situation in Lebanon was also discussed, he said.

"We discussed spheres where we could unite diplomatic efforts," Mitterrand said.

Mitterrand said he would like to preserve friendship between the two countries. He thanked Gorbachev for his kind words in connection with the forthcoming 10th anniversary of his election as president of France.

The Soviet Union and France share views on a Middle East peace conference, the Soviet and French presidents told reporters at a joint press conference today.

Mitterrand reminded reporters that the United Nations resolution envisaging the creation of Israel "also envisaged the creation of a Palestinian state."

"I told the Israeli parliament that Palestinians should not be denied the right to have a motherland and a state," Mitterrand said.

An international conference on the Middle East should involve the United Nations. "I believe this is the only way out. There is of course another way out—through the use of force—but who would want this?," Mitterrand said.

The Gulf crisis highlighted the need to work towards settling the old Middle East conflict, Gorbachev said.

"We continue to support an international conference. It is very important to start this process," Gorbachev said.

"At the first stage, the conference can have one format, at another stage it can have a different format and address other problems, but we should work to solve the most burning problems, including the Palestinian issue and the creation of a Palestinian state," Gorbachev said.

"We should stem from the fact that, firstly, the Soviet Union exists, secondly, it will continue to exist, thirdly, it is a powerful state and fourthly, it will remain a powerful state," President Mikhail Gorbachev told reporters today.

Gorbachev commented on relations he considered "appropriate" between the head of any Western state and Soviet republican leaders.

Gorbachev spoke about his recent meeting with leaders of nine Soviet republics, which resulted in a joint statement.

"We agreed that national interests should be put above everything. The future of the state, a united economic space, a market and the international role of the state is at stake. We all agreed that we should make progress in these aspects, and prevent any harm," Gorbachev said.

The key to further reforms lies in the implementation of the results of the recent Soviet referendum, during which the Soviet people voted for the preservation of the union state as a renewed federation of sovereign republics, where the rights and freedoms of an individual will be fully guaranteed, Gorbachev said.

The role of republics in the new federation will be changing on the basis of decentralisation of power and responsibility in the union, Gorbachev said.

Structural reforms will be coupled with reforms in foreign and foreign economic policy, Gorbachev said.

All major questions will be solved jointly. This opens a chance for a more active involvement of local and republican authorities in implementing foreign policy, he said.

All Soviet foreign partners are aware about the process and "we do not feel that the interest in us is fading", Gorbachev said.

The world would be dealing with a powerful state and will simultaneously have a chance to pursue new contacts, involving Soviet authorities and representatives of all republics, Gorbachev said.

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and President Francois Mitterrand of France met in a Moscow suburb on Monday to discuss European developments, a settlement in the Middle East and bilateral relations.

The Soviet Union and France shared views on an international conference on the Middle East, Mitterrand and Gorbachev told reporters at a joint press conference after the talks.

Mitterrand reminded reporters that a United Nations resolution envisaging the creation of Israel "also envisaged the creation of a Palestinian state".

Palestinians should not be denied the right to have a motherland and a state, Mitterrand said.

The Gulf crisis highlighted the need to work towards settling the old Middle East conflict, Gorbachev said.

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Commenting on the impact of Soviet difficulties on France's attitude to the Soviet Union, Mitterrand said that a deep revolution could not be implemented without consequences.

He praised those who initiated the reforms.

Mitterrand said he will continue to support extending help to Gorbachev and perestroika.

"We should stem from the fact that, firstly, the Soviet Union exists, secondly, it will continue to exist, thirdly, it is a powerful state and fourthly, it will remain a powerful state," President Mikhail Gorbachev told reporters today, Gorbachev commenting on relations he considered "appropriate" between the head of any Western state and Soviet republican leaders.

The world would be dealing with a powerful state and will simultaneously have a chance to pursue new contacts, involving Soviet authorities and representatives of all republics, Gorbachev said.

Mitterrand also commented on his meeting with Russian President Boris Yeltsin late in April.

"We discussed issues we considered appropriate for 20-25 minutes. I informed the head of state, in this case Mister Gorbachev, in advance about my intention to hold these exchanges," he said.

The meeting with the Russian leader was "polite and normal", Mitterrand said.

Mitterrand Departs

LD0705110791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1025 GMT 7 May 91

[Excerpts] Moscow, 7 May (TASS)—The routine working meeting between USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and French President Francois Mitterrand, which took place on Monday in the Novo-Ogarevo mansion near Moscow, was an important landmark in the history of Soviet-French relations, a serious contribution in the construction of the common European home and in the course of consolidation of peace. [passage omitted]

Immediately after the news conference late last night the French president left for home.

Supreme Soviet

Matyukhin Replaces Konarev as Railway Minister

LD0705090491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0830 GMT 7 May 91

[Report by TASS legislative correspondents Ivan Novikov and Andrey Pershin]

[Text] The session of the country's Supreme Soviet is continuing in the Kremlin.

This morning's session of the chambers began in an untraditional way—with congratulations to Anatoliy Lukyanov, head of the Union legislature, on his birthday.

Then the deputies examined a cadre question. USSR Prime Minister Pavlov informed the deputies that Nikolay Konarev had asked to be released from the post of Minister of Railways of the USSR. On behalf of the president of the country, the leader of the government proposed the candidacy of Leonid Matyukhin for this post.

He also asked the legislature to express gratitude to the former leader of the transportation department. The deputies agreed to the appointment of Leonid Matyukhin as USSR minister of railways and expressed gratitude to the former minister.

Then the discussion of the amendments to the draft law on the social protection of citizens suffering as a result of the Chernobyl disaster, which began yesterday, was continued.

Also on the agenda is the examination of the draft resolution on the appeals to the USSR Supreme Soviet by the legislatures of Armenia and Azerbaijan in connection with the interethnic conflict between these republics.

Legislative Committees Hold Joint Session 5 May

LD0505161391 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1400 GMT 5 May 91

[Report by legislative correspondent Vladimir Perfilyev from the Kremlin on 5 May—live or recorded]

[Text] Today, following the May legislative holidays, sittings resumed in the committees and commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[Perfilyev] Yes, the holidays have indeed ended for most members of the Supreme Soviet. For many they will end tomorrow, but two committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet—the Committee on Defense and Security and the Committee on Legislation and Law and Order—assembled today for a joint session.

The session considered the draft law on USSR state security bodies. Let me remind you that the first reading of this bill has already been passed by both the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities and it is now to be given its second reading. Yevgeniy Ivanovich Nemtsev, leader of the working group—incidentally, the group in addition to members of the Supreme Soviet includes also representatives of the KGB, the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], law enforcement bodies, the USSR Supreme Court, and eminent scientists—Yevgeniy Ivanovich Nemtsev, as I was saying, reported the fact that the draft of the bill being considered today is already the 19th draft. This is because the members of the Supreme Soviet evidently wish so much to adopt a law that on the one hand would make it really possible nevertheless to ensure our state security, including against organized crime, and on the other would make simply impossible a repeat of those lessons of ill repute in the history of this organization.

Much of the draft has been considered and much still remains to be finalized. Nevertheless, it has been recommended by the committees for its second reading at the session, and there is a possibility that we will have such a law within the month.

With that I end this report from the Kremlin.

6 May Supreme Soviet Session Details Reported

Pugo Reports on NKAO

LD0605121591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0900 GMT 6 May 91

[Speech by USSR Internal Affairs Minister Boris Pugo at the afternoon session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Kremlin on 6 May—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] The session of the USSR Supreme Soviet resumed its work today after a short recess. The agenda includes a debate on draft laws pertaining to the social security of citizens who suffered as a result of the Chernobyl disaster, the setting up of the USSR Control Chamber, and the amendment of the law on military service. The tragic events of recent days in the Transcaucasus, however, where shooting is taking place on the border of Armenia and Azerbaijan and people are dying, have forced the legislature to rearrange its work. The deputies heard a report from USSR Internal Affairs Minister Pugo. Here is a recording of the text of his statement:

[Pugo] Everyone knows how serious the problem in Nagorno-Karabakh is. Since February 1988 the president of the USSR, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the Union Government have been taking all possible political and legal steps to bring about a peaceful settlement of the conflict between Armenians and Azerbaijanis. Unfortunately, however, each easing of relations between the republics is following by more confrontation and mutual recrimination. The latest escalation of tension began in the first 10 days of March this year. Since then, trains, buses, and vehicles have been fired on virtually every day. Attacks are being staged on villages and farms. Because trains on the section between Karchevan and Megri in Armenia are being shot at, engine drivers are refusing to operate trains on this section of the railway.

On 2 May eight villages in Azerbaijan were subjected to rocket fire from Armenia. On 3 May 12 rockets were fired from Shamshadinskiy Rayon of Armenia at the town of Kazakh. Two people were killed and two others wounded. Shooting also took place along the border on 5 May. During the March-May period—and up until yesterday—235 attacks and shootings were recorded in the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] and border regions of Azerbaijan and Armenia. Of these, 153 have been from the Armenian side, and 82 from the Azerbaijani side. As a result, 20 Azerbaijani civilians and 10 Armenian civilians have been killed during this period alone. Furthermore, 67 Azerbaijanis and 39 Armenians have been wounded or hurt.

At the same time, armed resistance to the forces of law and order is increasing, primarily from Armenian guerrillas. During the current year, posts and patrols of Interior Ministry troops have come under fire and attack 115 times. Nine servicemen have been killed and another 15 injured. What is worrisome is that Armenian extremists are planning and executing acts of terrorism against leading officials of law enforcement bodies and military commanders. Between January and April, four officers of the Soviet Army and the Interior Ministry troops were murdered. The deputy head of the directorate of internal troops for the Transcaucasus and North Caucasus region was murdered in Rostov. A number of attacks have been carried out on officials of the USSR procuracy, on the commander of the region subject to the state of emergency, and on the procurator and head of the internal affairs directorate of the NKAO.

A series of new provocations against servicemen began at the beginning of May in Armenia. On 2 May in the town of Dilizhan, guerrillas held up a column of Interior Ministry troops and seized vehicles and weapons. On 2 and 3 May in Razdan and Leninakan, armed groups attacked sentries guarding an MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] military unit and frontier posts. The criminals seized 48 units of automatic weapons, bullet-proof vests, and ammunition. On 5 May an internal troops patrol conveying weapons by car was attacked in the town of Ashtarak. One hundred eighteen submachine guns and 40 grenades were stolen. Similar instances of military personnel and weapons being seized from the sub-units of the Soviet army took place on 4 May and 5 May.

The Azerbaijani side in turn is reinforcing local militia with OMON [Special Purpose Militia Unit] men and setting up self-defense detachments. The republic's Interior Ministry is checking passports and confiscating weapons, actions well within the competence of any sovereign republic's local services. In this connection, the most complex situation can be observed in the villages of Chaykend and Martunashen in the Khanlar Rayon of Azerbaijan, where Armenians live. According to available data, they have turned into strong points and bases of illegal Armenian armed groups. Weapon stores, lists of paramilitaries, maps of NKAO rayons, location plans of internal troops' posts and pickets, and information of the Military Commandant Office personnel have been discovered there. Groups of armed persons arriving from Armenia have been repeatedly detained in these settlements.

According to the dispatch from the Azerbaijani Interior Ministry, however, the passport checks and weapons confiscations are, indeed, causing bitter opposition. Militia personnel and soldiers have been subjected to shelling. Thirteen private soldiers and a local Azerbaijani resident were taken hostage. The military were eventually released, while the Azerbaijani man was killed by the paramilitaries. At the same time, many residents of Chaykend and Martunashen villages, tired of the unstable situation and unwilling to play hostage to the extremists, expressed a wish to leave the rayon. Some of them want to move to Armenia. The Azerbaijani authorities are prepared to pay them the appropriate monetary compensation. Certain persons, however, are trying to create a public opinion about an alleged deportation of Armenians from Azerbaijani territory. According to the request from the Armenian government—specifically, this request was made by Comrade Manukyan, chairman of the Council of Ministers—internal troops' helicopters moved out, over the last 48 hours, more than 300 women and children from the village of Chaykend. Certain people are seeking to present even these humanitarian actions as a deportation of Armenians. All this arouses passions, increases tension, and blocks attempts at a reasonable dialogue.

One cannot help noticing that the situation is being further destabilized by the presence in the region of numerous armed formations, not expected by USSR legislation. More than 100 firearms, 7,000 rounds of ammunition, and about half a ton of explosive materials have been seized from them since 15 April this year alone.

Since all this creates a serious threat to the safety of the population, the USSR MVD, the USSR KGB, and the USSR Ministry of Defense, in accordance with the demands of the USSR president's decree of 25 July 1990 that prohibits the setting up of armed formations not provided for by USSR legislation and that orders the confiscation of arms in cases of illegal possession, are taking relevant measures to disarm the illegal formations and confiscate weapons.

Here is this morning's information: I have information that arrived at 0800 hours [local time]. Just before I left, it was reported that 14 Armenian fighters were detained and 24 automatic weapons were seized from them.

Special attention is also paid to precautionary measures and explanatory work among the Armenian and Azerbaijani population, to work with the mass media which often publish greatly distorted and untruthful materials that whip up tension. At the same time, it is obvious that there is only one way out of this drawn-out interethnic conflict: a peaceful dialogue between the two peoples. Regarding this, in our opinion, the following is expedient:

First, a conciliatory commission should be set up without delay, comprising an equal number of trusted

representatives of the Armenian and Azerbaijani sides with the participation of representatives of the center, which will concentrate its efforts on working out and implementing conditions acceptable to both sides on a peaceful settlement of the conflict;

Second, to expand the political dialogue at the Union, republican, and local level with the participation of the deputies, the elders, the clergy, veterans, women, creative intelligentsia, and other categories;

Third, to set a target date for ending the state of emergency regime in the NKAO, making it conditional on the withdrawal of all illegal armed formations and their disarmament, and the adoption of measures by local authorities which guarantee law and order and the safety of the population in accordance with the decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 5 March 1990 on the situation in the Azerbaijan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and the Armenian SSR and on measures for the normalization of the state of affairs in this region.

Transcaucasus Conflict Discussed

LD0605183991 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 6 May 91

[Report on interview with Armenian Supreme Soviet Deputy Grigoryan and Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet Chairman Kafarova by correspondent V. Tsyganov; place and date not given; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Excerpts] [V. Tsyganov] Today, deputies of thE union's legislature honored the memory of the victims of the Georgian earthquake and the mudslide that buried a whole kishlak [winter dwelling] in Uzbekistan.

Then the legislators started carefully and fairly painstakingly discussing the draft law on the social protection of citizens who suffered as a consequence of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant. This is the second reading of the law. We shall note that the vote for for this document was unanimous. There was not a single vote against or abstention.

Apart from the agenda of the session's work announced for today by Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, the issue of the exacerbated situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and especially in villages mainly inhabited by citizens of Armenian nationality, was considered. In this regard, the Armenian Supreme Soviet appealed to the USSR Supreme Soviet to convene an extraordinary Congress of the country's People's Deputies. Deputy Grigoryan, who made a statement from Armenia said in particular:

[Grigoryan] We, USSR people's deputies from Armenia, in supporting the resolution of the Supreme Soviet of Armenia, demand: First, the convocation of an extraordinary meeting of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies to discuss the extraordinary situation that has arisen. Second, to end the bloodshed, the dispatch to the villages Getashen and Martunashen of Azerbaijan representatives of the USSR Supreme Soviet with extraordinary powers. Third, to set up a commission of deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet to investigate the activities of the leadership of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, particularly the command of the internal troops.

[Tsygankov] An appeal adopted by the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan and read out at the session by the chairman of the highest legislative body of this republic, Kafarova, says:

[Kafarova] Ignoring many decisions of the USSR Supreme Soviet and decrees of the USSR president, and obsructing any constructive step to strengthen the union, the Armenian Republic has selected from the Constitution only those articles that benefit it. It has resorted to Article 110 of the Constitution but appeals to the country's highest body of power without justification. The imposition on the Supreme Soviet and the USSR Congress of People's Deputies of a matter relating to the competence of a Union republic must be assessed as the wish of the Republic of Armenia to use them for its bilateral... [corects herself] destructive purposes. In this regard, the presidium of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet considers the resolution of the Armenian Supreme Soviet blatant inteference in the internal affairs of the sovereign state of the Republic of Azerbaijan and expresses resolute protest against the attempts once again to foist on the USSR Supreme Soviet the convocation and consideration of the matter of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. Second, guided by Article 81 of the USSR Constitution, demands that the USSR presidium the president of the USSR Supreme Soviet and of the USSR president take decisive steps to foil the aggression by the Republic of Armenia against Azerbaijan and strive to dissolve the armed groupings illegally created in Armenia, and the revocation of the anticonstitutional decisions of the republic's Supreme Soviet concerning the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous oblast being united with Armenia.

[Tsygankov] At the request of deputies, USSR Internal Affairs Minister Pugo gave a detailed account of the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and its villages. [passage omitted] After an exchange of views—and this morning, it lasted almost an hour—the commission on nationalities policy and interethnic relations was charged with preparing a draft resolution on this issue and submitting it to deputies for a final decision at the evening sitting.

Armenian Congress Proposal Viewed

LD0605133791 Moscow TASS in English 1244 GMT 6 May 91

[By TASS legislative correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov]

[Text] Moscow May 6 TASS—The Soviet parliament today agreed to discuss the Armenian parliament's demand to convene an extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies to discuss the situation on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan. The three-year-old Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh has escalated over the past week.

The conflict is centered on the Armenian villages [of] Getashen and Martunashen on Azerbaijani territory. These villages are "gateways" from Armenia to Azerbaijan's Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region, with its predominantly Armenian population.

Nyuton Grigoryan, who read out the address on behalf of USSR people's deputies from Armenia, said that "Soviet Interior Ministry troops jointly with Azerbaijani police task forces, using tanks and artillery, began an unprecedented large-scale operation to force the Armenian population to leave Getashen, Martunashen and other villages". As a result, "37 people were killed and many others seriously wounded".

Chairwoman of the Azerbaijanian Supreme Soviet Elmira Gafarova then took the floor. She said that the Armenian parliament's demand to convene a Congress of USSR People's Deputies "is gross interference in Azerbaijan's affairs, an attempt to aggravate the situation in the region and involve Union authorities in unsavoury affairs". She said that after April 20 the situation in Azerbaijan sharply deteriorated as a result of aggressive actions by Armenian militants.

Soviet Interior Minister Boris Pugo said that the Armenian-populated villages Cheikent and Martunashen on Azerbaijanian territory "have been turned into bases for illegal Armenian armed units." He said that "arms depots, lists of militants and plans of interior forces' check points and frontier posts were found in these villages. Groups of armed people arriving from Armenia were detained there more than once.

"Many residents of Cheikent and Martunashen, unnerved by the instable situation and having no wish to become hostages of extremists, expressed their wish to leave the district, some for Armenia," Pugo said. At the request of the Armenian government, more than 300 women and children left Cheikent on board interior forces' helicopters over the past two days. But some people are trying to present these humane actions as deportation".

Pugo said that the USSR Interior Ministry, KGB and Defence Ministry are taking measures to disarm unlawful units and confiscate their arms on the basis of the USSR presidential decree of July 25, 1990. The minister said that as many as 14 Armenian militants had been detained by May 6, and that 24 units of automatic weapons had been confiscated from them.

Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Anatoliy Lukyanov told the parliament that Mikhail Gorbachev, who met the leaders of Armenia and Azerbaijan on May 3, concluded that a settlement is out of question until the unlawful units are disarmed.

Chairman of the parliamentary commission for a nationality policy Georgiy Tarazevich was instructed to prepare a draft decision that could be submitted to the parliament this afternoon.

Resolution on Armenia Not Passed

LD0605183391 Moscow TASS in English 1715 GMT 6 May 91

[By TASS legislative correspondents Ivan Ivanov and Vladimir Isachenkov]

[Text] Moscow May 6 TASS—The Soviet Union's standing parliament today failed to pass a decision in connection with the Armenian parliament's demand for the convocation of the people's congress, the country's supreme legislature, to settle the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict.

All paragraphs of the proposed draft resolution provoked keen arguments and the parliament finally decided to redraw the document and adopt it Tuesday morning.

Practically all speakers in the debate were unanimous that convocation of the congress was not expedient. Even Armenian deputies, in fact, admitted that.

Soviet Interior Minister Boris Pugo, speaking in parliament today, said that the Interior Ministry, the State Security Committee (KGB) and the Defence Ministry of the USSR are carrying out measures to disband and disarm unlawful units in keeping with the presidential decree of July 25, 1990.

Anatoliy Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, informed deputies that Mikhail Gorbachev, who met Armenian and Azerbaijani leaders on May 3, came to the following conclusion: "As long as unlawful units remain armed, there can be no talk about settling the conflict."

The parliament adopted an appeal to the Soviet people in connection with Victory Day, calling for the nationwide celebration of the Soviet Union's victory over Nazi Germany on May 9, 1945.

The formation of the Cabinet of Ministers continued. Aleksandr Isayev, 60, was confirmed in the post of chairman of the State Forestry Committee. The parliament had earlier agreed to the appointment of about forty members of government.

The Supreme Soviet approved a law on the social protection of citizens affected by the Chernobyl nuclear power plant accident. The law provides for monetary compensation and other benefits for persons affected by the 1986 disaster, including clean-up teams and the population living in or evacuated from the contaminated areas.

Victory Day Appeal Issued

LD0605185691 Moscow TASS in English 1809 GMT 6 May 91

[By TASS legislative correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow May 6 TASS—The Soviet parliament on Monday adopted an appeal to Soviet people urging them to defend the country's state holiday Victory Day and promote its celebration on May 9, 1991 nationwide.

The appeal was made by the influential parliamentary faction Soyuz and unanimously approved by the parliament.

The appeal says that as political passions fly high in the country, there is a tendency to downgrade the holiday and bury it in oblivion.

It stresses that acts of vandalism against soldiers' tombs and the desecration of war memorials are intolerable.

The parliament called on Soviet people to bend their heads in memory of soldiers perished during the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945) and do honour to war veterans.

"Let this holiday be a day of memory of the Soviet peoples' friendship and brotherhood sealed with blood. Today, every citizen's sacred duty is to keep the country from disintegration and division, as well as from encroachments from inside and outside," the appeal says.

Chernobyl Relief Discussed

LD0605125491 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1000 GMT 6 May 91

[Report by legislative correspondent Olga Vasilenko]

[Text] The Union legislature is now studying, article by article, the bill on social security of citizens who suffered as a result of the Chernobyl disaster. The first reading of this document was held on 9 April. An hour ago it was adopted in principle, and now each individual article is being debated. In their deliberations since 9 April, committees and commissions have decided to reinforce the socioeconomic provisions of the draft and to define more specifically the method by which citizens who suffered as a result of Chernobyl will receive social security, in fact the very things that these unfortunate people expect from the USSR Supreme Soviet.

One other important point to note: Russia, Belorussia, and the Ukraine have adopted their own laws on the Chernobyl catastrophe. The reworked version of the Union law takes account of a number of provisions in the republican laws.

What are the specific features of the bill that is being studied at the moment? It defines the right of citizens to be indemnified for injury, to receive compensation and benefits. On a suggestion from a Ukrainian deputy, Yavorivskiy, an amendment was adopted by which the implementation of this right would be guaranteed by the state. The document also defines the zone of radioactive contamination, the zone of isolation, the zone of evacuation, the zone in which people may continue to live but retain the right to be evacuated, and the zone in which people may continue to live with preferential socioeconomic status.

Almost no one is overlooked by the bill. It caters to the problems of those who have suffered radiation sickness, who have been disabled, who took part in cleaning up after the accident, who are employed in operating the station in the isolation zone, and who have been evacuated from danger zones.

That is what is happening right now, but the Supreme Soviet spent the first hour holding a very difficult debate on the Armenian Supreme Soviet's well-known proposal for the summoning of an extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies to settle the conflict on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan. The debate was very difficult and complex. It is now being continued at the meeting of the commission of the Soviet of Nationalities on nationalities policy and inter-ethnic affairs. That meeting is taking place now. We will try to tell you about its results in our subsequent bulletins.

Chernobyl Compensation Bill Approved

LD0605125791 Moscow TASS in English 1101 GMT 6 May 91

[By TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow May 6 TASS—The Soviet parliament today passed a bill on the social protection of citizens who suffered as a result of the Chernobyl nuclear power accident in April 1986.

For the first time the two-year-old Soviet parliament, endorsed a bill unanimously: Not a single deputy declared against it or abstained during the vote.

"The newly-adopted law is the manifestation of our duty to Chernobyl victims," parliament chairman Anatoly Lukyanov told TASS in comment on the outcome of the vote.

The document envisages monetary compensations and other benefits for Chernobyl victims, those who participated in eliminating the accident's aftermath, those who found themselves within the radiologically contaminated zone and those who were evacuated from contaminated territories.

Republics affected by the consequences of the Chernobyl accident may at their discretion increase amounts of monetary compensation and extend the list of benefits, said Kakimbek Salykov, chairman of the parliamentary committee for ecology.

Provisions of the newly-adopted federal law basically accord with the similar laws previously passed by the Ukraine and Belorussia, he emphasised.

In addition, the law reflects the concept of safe living on radiologically contaminated territories and defines boundaries of radiation-affected lands to enhance safety during land utilisation and habitation, Salykov said.

When the bill was drafted, there were proposals that the USSR Cabinet of Ministers also apply the bill-provided compensations and benefits, from 1992, to people who fell ill with radiation sickness or became incapacitated

when working at other nuclear military or civilian facilities or as a result of testing, exercises and other work connected with any types of nuclear installations, including nuclear weapons.

The Cabinet consented to the implementation of this proposal, Salykov said.

Political & Social

TASS Reviews Central Press for 7 May

LD0705070791 Moscow TASS in English 0648 GMT 7 May 91

["Soviet Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow May 7 TASS—The press features an official report about a meeting between President Mikhail Gorbachev and visiting President Francois Mitterrand of France at the Novo-Ogarevo mansion near Moscow on Monday. The two heads of state had a one-to-one meeting after which Soviet-French talks, including officials on both sides, were held. The two countries' foreign ministers Aleksandr Bessmertnykh and Roland Dumas signed an intergovernmental programme for cooperation in the field of culture, education and science.

Immediately following the Soviet-French working meeting at top level and talks, the two presidents gave a news conference devoted to their results. Gorbachev and Mitterrand made brief statements and answered journalists' questions concerning urgent international issues, bilateral relations and the situation in the USSR.

PRAVDA writes that Gorbachev met Alexander Lilov, chairman of the Bulgarian Socialist Party Supreme Council, at the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee on Monday. They discussed sweeping changes launched in the Soviet Union and Bulgaria and both parties' activity at the present stage.

In the context of current processes in Eastern Europe, the two politicians paid due attention to Soviet-Bulgarian relations, which have deep historic roots and rich traditions. The two men shared a similar view that preserving and multiplying everything positive in these relations is in the vital interests of the Soviet and Bulgarian peoples, peace and cooperation in Europe.

The press runs accounts of the Soviet parliament's work on Monday. It writes that deputies focused on the situation on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

The Soviet legislature could not adopt a final decision in connection with the Armenian parliament's demand for an extraordinary congress of USSR people's deputies to settle the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan, which erupted with fresh force last week.

All points of the proposed draft resolution sparked heated debates and lawmakers decided to send the document for additional study and adopt it on Tuesday. At the same time, virtually all participants in the debate were unanimous that it was unexpedient to convene the congress.

Speaking in parliament, Soviet Interior Minister Boris Pugo noted that the Soviet Interior Ministry, the State Security Committee (KGB) and the Defence Ministry were carrying out measures to disarm illegal groups in accordance with the respective decree by the Soviet president of July 25, 1990.

Soviet legislature chairman Anatoliy Lukyanov informed deputies that Gorbachev, who met the Armenian and Azerbaijan leaders on May 3, came to the conclusion that there can be no talk about resolving the conflict until illegal groups are disarmed.

On the same day, members of parliament adopted an appeal to the Soviet people in view of the celebration of Victory Day. The document calls for ensuring the celebration of victory over Fascism on May 9, 1945 on the entire territory of the USSR. The text of the appeal is published in the press.

The Soviet parliament adopted a law on the social protection of citizens who suffered from the Chernobyl disaster. The law envisages cash compensations and other privileges for people who were affected by the disaster in April, 1986, the participants in the cleanup effort, the population that appeared to be in the contaminated area and also for those who were evacuated from radiation-polluted territories.

Informing readers about the work of the Russian parliament, PRAVDA and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA write that on Monday Russian lawmakers considered the fundamental law that is meant to bring the republican constitution in line with the newly-adopted law on the election of the president of the Russian Federation. The elections for the Russian Presidency are scheduled to take place on June 12.

Deputies adopted a bill on amendments and supplements to the Russian Constitution in connection with the institution of the post of president of the Russian Federation. The bill is expected to be finally endorsed at the Fourth Congress of Russian People's Deputies, which is scheduled to open on May 21.

Deputies also adopted a law on the constitutional court. The authors of the document believe that introducing such an institute in the republic will ensure scrupulous compliance with the Russian Constitution and enactment of the republican laws.

PRAVDA and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA published the text of a telegram of condolences from President Gorbachev to the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek SSR, the republican Communist Party Central Committee and the people of Uzbekistan over the landslide in the Tashkent region, that caused loss of human life.

"It is the duty of the party of communists to help the country to summon up its strength to accomplish the

difficult tasks faced by society," says an editorial article in PRAVDA, analysing the main results of the joint plenary meeting of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and the Central Control Commission, which was held in Moscow in April.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA published an open letter by Gennadiy Zyuganov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Russian Communist Party Central Committee, to Academician Aleksandr Yakovlev critising the latter's statements for the press and other public statements concerning current processes in the USSR and prospects for the development of the situation in the country.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA features an interview which former Soviet Prime Minsiter Nikolay Ryzhkov gave to TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina. Asked what prompted him to run for the post of president of the Russian Federation, Ryzhkov said, in part, that in the present-day conditions one could not stand aloof of vigorous political activity and that one had to be useful to the state and society.

In the TRUD newspaper, renowned statesmen, politicians, public figures and economists, among them Vadim Bakatin, Yegor Ligachev, Gavriil Popov, Nikolay Petrakov, Stanislav Shatalin and Grigoriy Yavlinskiy reflect on the most important results of the conference "Perestroyka Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow".

The RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA newspaper features an interview with Ukrainian parliament leader Leonid Kravchuk, who commented on the main provisions of the recent joint statement by the Soviet president and the leaders of nine republics.

Kravchuk noted that the most immediate task today was to establish order in the economy, end strikes and ethnic conflicts. He thinks that success can be achieved only if republics pool their efforts and work together.

Ryzhkov on Bid for RSFSR Presidency

LD0605192691 Moscow TASS in English 1901 GMT 6 May 91

[By TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow May 6 TASS—"I do not strive for power," former Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov said in an interview with TASS, commenting on his nomination to run for the Russian Presidency.

Ryzhkov talked to TASS at his suburban dacha, given him by the Soviet parliament on retirement.

The owner of the two-storey country house looked much thinner following a heart attack late last year.

Ryzhkov said he was prepared to run and that doctors did not object against this.

"The country is in an extremely difficult situation. It was like this during the war probably. You should do everything you can to help Russia and the state," Ryzhkov said.

The government Nikolay Ryzhkov led knew that it was doomed: "We drew fire upon ourselves by unpopular measures, novel changes, the public was not prepared for market relations."

The resulting squall swept aside the Ryzhkov government and paved the way for the Pavlov cabinet, he said.

Ryzhkov criticised Pavlov's anti-crisis measures. The recent price increases were unjustifiably tough, especially considering public discontent with low living standards, Ryzhkov said.

A further liberalisation of prices for basic necessities envisaged in Pavlov's programme is inadmissible, he believes.

The state should maintain control over prices for basic foods and goods for children, he said.

Ryzhkov said he supports a faster privatisation of small enterprises and market reforms. Special attention should be paid to protecting low-income families he said.

Ryzhkov said he was still working on his election platform.

Nikolay Ryzhkov and other candidates for the Russian Presidency will find it much more difficult to campaign than the key contender for the post—Boris Yeltsin. The time frame puts the rivals in unequal conditions—while the apparatus of the Russian parliament and activists of the Democratic Russian political movement are already working for Yeltsin, other contenders have to scramble to find supporters.

Nenashev Urges 'Protectionism' for Press

LD0505130191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio 1-Network in Russian 0615 GMT 5 May 91

[Talk by Mikhail Fedorovich Nenashev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Press, on 5 May USSR Press Day; place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] No doubt what we will be talking about is the place and role of the press in all that makes up the life of our country today, all that the country is concerned and worried about. As we know, one of the purposes of truth is to reflect the realities of one's time, to reflect its most characteristic traits. A reality of our troubled times is the enormous growth of the social influence of the press. It is the press which today, in many respects, determines the political and moral atmosphere of society and often exerts an influence—a decisive influence, indeed—on the processes taking place within it. There is no doubt, either, that the press itself is a reflection of the complex and contradictory processes taking place in our life, and of course also carried upon itself all the positive and negative features of that life.

It goes without saying that the social situation that has developed in our country directly affects the nature of our press and influences the content of our newspapers, magazines, and other publications. And here one ought to mention, above all, the vast social influence that has been exerted by the law on the press and other media which has been passed by the USSR Supreme Soviet. Only a little over six months has passed, but already its huge influence in intensifying the whole creative process of the work of the periodical press as a whole and of every newspaper and magazine is evident. This law has in effect shaped the fundamentally new situation which now exists in the press. How is that situation to be characterized? Above all, by the emergence of an enormous number of new periodicals—new both as regards their adherence and as regards their professional content and orientation.

Let me acquaint listeners with the structure of the publications which we have registered in the USSR Committee for the Press. Here are the very latest figures, for 15 April 1991. Here in our committee alone, 1,805 newspapers and magazines have been registered. These are the publications aimed at an all-union audience. Of these, 862 magazines and newspapers are new. Who owns them? Two hundred and ninety-two belong to public organizations; 235 are directly owned by the editorial offices and publishers; 126 belong to associations; 103 to cooperatives; 54 to joint enterprises; about 30 to joint-stock companies; and 19 to religious organizations.

A completely new phenomenon for us in the sphere of the press is the private publication. Here in the committee we have already registered 245 publications which will be distributed by the citizens who own them.

I have only given figures for publications registered by us here at the union level, as it were. In reality the number of registered publications is much higher. If you bear in mind that the Press and Information Ministry of Russia has registered something like 700—a few more even—publications and the Moscow City Soviet more than 300, then in Moscow alone a total of more than 2,800 periodicals has now been registered. Half of them are completely new newspapers and magazines. In the country as a whole, we now have—for April—over 8,000 new registered periodicals, of which 400 are fundamentally new publications which did not exist before. These figures are of course inadequate and incomplete; but even so, they are very indicative. Of what? First and foremost, of the fact that we are dealing with a completely different structure of periodicals than before, as I said at the very beginning. That structure clearly exhibits the predominance of newspapers and magazines belonging to various new public organizations, public movements, associations, funds, joint enterprises, cooperatives. Many of them—and this, too, must be frankly admitted—seek popularity by opposing the official authorities: the more so since, as you will agree, being numbered among the opposition to state authority really involves no risk or difficulty.

A second thing that is obvious is the commercial tendency of many of the new publications. This of course determines their orientation. Both professionally and as regards content. We sometimes speak nowadays of a certain extravagance of content. We speak of a certain boldness, even rashness, of our press. But let us be realistic. Many hundreds of these publications are setting themselves, in the first stage of their emergence and development, but one task—to survive, to hold out. And at times they try to solve that task by any aims and by any means. And the urge to survive, the urge to achieve popularity and prestige no matter by what means, sometimes determines in no small measure their very controversial tendency, which is most often one of opposition.

A third fact which is noticeable is that the information boom—of which there can be no doubt, it is plain to see—the appearance of this huge number of new newspapers and magazines—and you must bear in mind that dozens of new news agencies have appeared, and thousands of new publishing houses—this information boom which we are witnessing has had less effect on the state organs. Moreover, as far as the center is concerned, in conditions of the broad development of glasnost, the supreme organs of state power, say, the USSR Supreme Soviet, the president, the government, as regards the press, they are possibly the least protected informationally. Here, practically none of the new publications has appeared.

Our discussion of the situation in the press would of course be incomplete if we did not say something about another very important and acute subject: the press and the market. The emergence of market relations gives rise to serious contradictions and serious conflicts in the sphere of the press. As you know, the cost of publishing and circulating newspapers and magazines, and the price of paper, have increased so fast that some publications today find themselves simply on the brink of bankruptcy. That is no exaggeration. I will say more: The continuing rise in the cost of paper, the critical situation in the supply to the printing works of ink and film, along with the printing combines' complete lack of foreign currency, are today possibly the greatest danger to the survival of the press, and therefore to glasnost as a whole. There is surely no need of argument to prove that this is not at all a problem just for the industry, but rather a most serious problem for the state, which unfortunately is hardly being tackled at all, despite all the efforts of the newspapers, magazines and publishers.

This transition to market relations is difficult, we know, in any sphere; but I will venture to say very emphatically that it is a hundred times more so in publishing policy. Because it directly determines the state of our culture, and, if you like, of the whole intellectual life of society—both for the near and for the remote future. And there does exist today—we should make no secret of this—a real danger, and the symptoms of that danger are plain to see, that in the rush for profits, with the competition in the publishing market, the losers will be the publications which meet the strategic, i.e. the intellectual needs of society. This is also already obvious today.

Unfortunately, at the present time we have no provision for any machinery for the legal and financial protection of publications which are of special social importance. I have in mind academic and scientific publications, publications for children and young people, for the numerically small ethnic groups and so on; also the analogues periodicals aimed at many millions of readers. I think we must not allow them to be crowded out of the market and consequently out of our homes, by products of a recreational or political kind, which are also, not infrequently, of very dubious content.

We feel that in the conditions which obtain during the emergence of the market, the USSR Supreme Soviet ought to pass a special resolution making it incumbent upon the Cabinet of Ministers to lay down a policy of state protectionism for the press. We must not procrastinate, but at once specify the publications which belong to the sphere of state priorities, and insure that they get support from the state organs in the shape of tax concessions, subsidies, and priority supply of material resources to publications, at state prices. And the practical implementation of these measures could be laid upon the new Information and Press Ministry which is being established by a decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet. [passage omitted]

I would not be entirely sincere if I did not mention that I am concerned today about the creative, substantive work of the press. Let me say frankly and bluntly that I am worried about the extreme politicization of the press—the desire of some publications to deepen the confrontation and conflicts, economic, social, ethnic, that are today already literally tearing our society to pieces. The papers and magazines are full to overflowing of various contradictory forecasts and prophecies: How many days the president will last, how long the Cabinet of Ministers will last, who will resign and when, who will take over, and so on. Today, in journalism as in life—as I see it, and this too I want to say quite bluntly—we are seeing the triumph everywhere of extremes: Everywhere the baby is being thrown out with the bath water; the author's subjective version has for some reason become, in many of our newspapers and magazines, the main journalistic genre, while his majesty the fact, to which we always seem to have bowed, and for which we always seem to have appealed, seems to have receded into the background. [passage omitted]

Cinema Workers Protest TV Censorship

PM0205134691 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 14, 7-14 Apr 91 p 4

[Yelena Chekalova report: "Television: Boycott—Against Whom?"]

[Text] The situation was absolutely clear at the start: 57 film makers announced in the press on January 24 that they refused to participate in national television programmes. The reasons was twofold: Kravchenko's censorship policy on television, and the monopoly on national television broadcasts exercised by the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting. The boycott would be lifted only when three demands were met: return the formerly banned programmes and anchor people to the air, recognize the right to free access to information, and allow Russia to have its own TV station.

But soon a different version was being spread by Central TV: The boycott is spearheaded against all television and against the TV audience. The boycott looks unreasonable if one believes this interpretation. Besides, the TV viewers were told that the film makers boycotting Central TV force others who didn't agree with their protest to join their boycott. The situation began to develop into a comedy, one episode of which I saw myself at a Union of Cinema Workers meeting on March 28. Here's what the participants said:

Vladimir Menshov: We must set up a special security committee and put Andrey Smirnov in charge, since he seems to understand the situation better than anybody else. They we will have an arbiter who can decide whether this or that piece can be offered for TV or not. I would hate to be labelled a strike breaker as a result of an error made by myself. This smacks of a witchhunt.

Andrey Smirnov: We are being accused of extremism. Indeed, it is really disheartening to find one's freedom of choice curtailed. Personally, I think that those who agree to appear on television run by Leonid Kravchenko are supporting the current forces of power. Many of those who collaborate with Kravchenko do so unwittingly, because they cannot see the final result. Later, they will have to spend a lot of effort to exonerate themselves.

Sometimes, the situation reminds me of a cockfight. It is more a fight among ourselves, rather than against Kravchenko. The matter sometimes seemed to be very intricate and involved, but in fact it is not. I can understand the position of those who cannot afford to let their work be used to fill new gaps in programming. I can equally understand the position of those who reject the current policy of the TV authorities but nevertheless continue to appear on the air. But where is the confrontation then? As Sergey Solovyev quietly put it, it is a matter of people's personal idea of decency. The fact that people are beginning to rethink their ideas about things guarantees freedom of artistic endeavour. The boycott certainly was a success, speaking about its intrinsic objective.

However on the surface, it looks like a failure in many respects: the banning of programmes and their hosts continues. I think that one of the reasons for this is in the reaction of many television people themselves. When the fate of the ATV programme was being dealt with, Vzglyad people kept silent and even tried to excuse the management's actions. the directors and hosts of Film Panorama didn't stand up to protect their colleagues from TSN.

MOSCOW NEWS Views TV 'Independence'

PM0205135491 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 14, 7-14 Apr 91 p 10

[Sergey Muratov article: "Television And Democracy: Who Will Prevail?"]

[Text] The Hero of an old parable was russing from city to city, pursued by questions: "Where are you running to?" Lastly, unable to contain himself, he exclaimed: "Why is everybody asking where I'm running to? Why doesn't anyone ask—what I'm running from?" The advocates of alternative television know full well what they are running from—from the system of administrative management with its oppressive authoritarianism. But where to?

Alternatives

The idea of alternative television was made public for the first time by Vladimir Tsvetov in June 1988. The journalist wrote about the impossibility of creative effort under ideological control, and about TV being monotonous and dominated by dilettantism, depriving viewers of the right of any choice. Salvation was seen in the creation of a parallel independent television. His article marked the beginning of a polemic which has been going on till this day. As a result, two types of telecasting have taken shape in the public mind—alternative ("second", "another", "independent", "public", "popular") and state owned (alias "official", "protocol", "presidential").

Given this way of posing the question—public or presidential?—there were no doubts about what kind of television should be preferred.

Needless to say, the public did not keep silent. Our press has never before been so outspoken in its response to the TV administration's methods of keeping control. Regrettably, criticism mainly centred on the struggle against Gosteleradio's chairmen. It was an exhausting struggle which increasingly acquired a mutually embittered character. But to what extent was the energy spent consistent with the aims in view?

During the years of the most audacious TV programmes the actual director of Gosteleradio was exactly its present-day chairman. Doesn't this mean that to reduce all the problems to the figures of individual leaders is the same as blaming the thermometer for showing an unwelcome temperature while the disease takes hold of the organism?

Why Does This President Need This TV?

Once upon a time the poet Andrey Voznesenskiy called the Ostankino TV towar a "syringe for ideological injections". All-Union television is a kind of huge syringe, an instrument of guided influence upon the audience. But the less it reckons with the opinion of this socially heterogeneous audience, the less the latter reckons with the opinions of the television service. Yet what we have is not all-Union, but Moscow (Central) television. When the Orbita system brought the whole country's audience together for the first time a quarter of a century ago, this did not in any way affect the character of telecasting. What changed was the size of the syringe.

Nor was the situation eased by last year's presidential decree on democratizing television. Admitting the right of any public movement to a place on the air, the decree announced Gosteleradio's property to be inviolable (the same as in the sphere of the press, where real power is held by those who own printing facilities and newsprint). Insisting on the need for change and simultaneously on the impossibility of change, it mirrored the real contradiction between the traditions of authoritarian television and nascent democracy. Although this was almost the virtue of the decree—it opened up the possibility of discussion about the future laws on broadcasting.

But discussion did not materialize. Public criticism steered clear of the law. It was much simpler to discuss the moral qualities of chairmen or to boycott television, thus adding an even longer list of "volunteers" to the list of those excommunicated from the air by the administration. This looked like a retreat to the beat of the drum. Begging your pardon, retorted some of the more implacable polemists, when criticizing Mikhail Nenashev or Leonid Kravchenko we thereby criticize the system. But the system owen its strength not to people, but to the structure which does or does not make provision for the mechanism of society's influence on the content of telecasts.

The attempt to reform Central TV without radically changing its structure was not crowned with success. Not because it was state-owned television. But precisely because it was not.

This thought was first voiced by Eduard Sagalayev, writing in IZVESTIYA a year ago. It is significant that the day when this issue of the newspaper appeared witnessed the so-called seizure of Leningrad television. Much was written about this, describing it as an unlawful act, which is correct. But let's pay attention to one detail, Leningrad television was captured not by a group of riot police, but by people's deputies—representatives of the state at municipal level. And once they were compelled to "capture" the studio in order to use their legitimate right to speak on the air, the question arises: from whom was it necessary to recapture this right? If our state broadcasting is the same myth as all-Union broadcasting, then who lays down broadcasting policy in this country?

In recent months one hears it said that it is being pursued on behalf of the President. There is no denying that more than any others the President's judgements have a right to be made public on the air. But what does "more than" actually mean? Does it come down to a special rubric, a separate channel or in general to all the Central TV programmes, including the Leningrad one? And if "more than others", then what time on the air can these "others" count on? This is the kind of questions which must be regulated by the law on television after its nationwide discussion and approval by the Union parliament.

Presidential television spells a moratorium on information. Something like a curfew on the air. But does a state which wants to be law-abiding need this television?

Does the President need this television?

A law is needed

Two years ago an American sociologist was talking about one of the reasons to account for Mikhail Gorbachev's incredible popularity in the United States. The news programmes of TV networks over there usually give only the more striking excerpts from politicians' speeches. Little wonder that the Americans have acquired an impression about the Soviet leader as a person who always speaks tersely and aphoristically. Our domestic Vremya programme televised presidential speeches in full, as a rule, not bothering to care about the perception psychology of televiewers irked by the fact that feature programmes are put off until late at night. Is it possible to do more for the creation of a negative image on the screen? (The same effect has been produced by the repressive acts on TV relating to the President's name.)

Our televiison is said to be the world's most lawless broadcasting service. But what lawlessness can be in question if there is no law? The first thing the Lithuanian parliament did on announcing the Republic's independence was to switch off the Leningrad channel after its Fifth Wheel programme showed a rally of Sajudis' opponents. With its next step Lithuanian television deprived its political opponents of the opportunity to set forth their views on the air. This does not, of course, justify the riot police's invasion, but undoubtedly it bears witness to a violation of the principles of civic equality. For democracy makes tolerance incumbent not only on its opponents, but also on its supporters.

Different countries have their own solutions on the ways of making state broadcasting voice citizens' interests. In the BBC, which is a state corporation, this task is handled by the Council of Managers, consisting of ten to twelve persons who are not at all experts in the field of television—they are law, science, culture and sociology experts. (The same aims are also pursued by over 50 consultative committees with up to 20 "councillors"—representatives from the public—on each). In Italy it is the parliamentary commission which controls the state broadcasting network and approves the composition of the Administrative Council. In the Netherlands it is broadcasting associations who voice the will of individual parties or regional groups.

"Independent television doesn't exist." This is correct. Any television is dependent. Including ours. But dependent on whom? On the agonizing system of nomenklatura-party administration or on society? In the former case it is possible to eliminate the most popular programmes with impunity and excommunicate the most popular hosts from the air without even asking what televiewers think about this. In the latter, respect for the viewer is the basis of programming policy.

State telecasting which meets the audience's interests amounts to alternative television opposing the service run by the apparat.

Television and democracy. Of course this problem had better wait. Until a time when we have a law-abiding state with a civic society. But how soon can our society become civic without aid from a television speaking to us not only on behalf of the authorities, but also on behalf of those who delegate authority?

Stolyarov Views Gorbachev, CPSU, Power

91UN1377A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
23 Apr 91 Union Edition p 3

[Article by Nikolay Stolyarov, member of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Central Control Commission of the RSFSR Communist Party: "The Power Market. On the Threshold of the Power Market"]

[Text] The total shortage of necessities which has put society into a shock of confusion and hopelessness today is miraculously accompanied by an abundance on the political market. What is the assortment of views and approaches to the problem of power: from monarchic to anarchic! Our young, still weak democracy is storming and fermenting like young wine.

Democracy... That wonderful model of human communal living—the "Greek miracle"—originated far back in antiquity. Having provided a powerful impetus for the development of freedom of judgments and assessments, and pluralism of opinions, it presented to the world a galaxy of original philosophers, poets, and artists, in a word, creators. But at the same time the model of the democratic structure of society met with strong opposition. Thus Plato called democracy nothing other than the "insanity of the majority" which makes equals and nonequals all alike. The wise Socrates was ironic about the democratic practice of electing officials.

So why are modern analysts so unconcerned about the fact that the people as a subject of control, while striving for the good and the just, can themselves become an instrument directed against democracy and the tolerance, freedom, and responsibility which are conditions of it? After all, democracy is not only (and not so much!) parades, rallies, free expression of will, and so forth. It is primarily a high level of culture—general, political, moral... In other words, the culture of human communal living. And what a dearth there is of this today! This is why all of us—without exception—must develop into cultured and intelligent democrats.

The masses rising up to protest do not become democrats in and of themselves. The mobs of people, angry and driven to despair, are a source of evil and injustice. Against this social background the regimes that spring up most easily are not democratic but tyrannical.

Gradually and almost inevitably creeping into the practice of the political market being formed in our country

(and this is before any of the other markets have been created), we see a neglect for cultural, moral, and legal norms, demagogy, blackmail, power pressure, and other undesirable phenomena. The technique of winning power in order to achieve the proclaimed goals gradually begins to prevail over the establishment of the goals themselves. It is incredible but true that sometimes the profound and sincere aspirations of political leaders stand in the way of their success. Can it be that morality and politics are simply mutually exclusive?

But still I am convinced that it is quite possible even today to establish a code of honor, democratic and socially desirable norms, and rules of political activity in the domestic political arena. Our people, exhausted from tyranny, adventurism, and hypocrisy, wish and need to live a life worthy of free and proud people. Such a life can be acquired only on the path to democracy. There is no other hope.

The Crystal Multiparty System

Throughout the civilized world political parties play an intermediary role—between the community and the organs of state power.

Before the reform of the political sphere the CPSU was not fulfilling this role. It replaced mediation with complete subordination of the state to itself by confining solutions to economic, sociocultural, and other problems to party institutions. No intermediate institutions of power were needed. The party would not allow them.

What has the party become now? One might say this: It is now trying to become a link between the state and the civil society. At the same time, more and more new parties are appearing alongside the CPSU. As soon as they make their appearance they begin to vie for the exclusive right to the intermediary role. This is not customary, it irritates people, and it creates many inconveniences and difficulties. But what can be done? Can we return, as the radicals suggest, to the pre-Stalinist situation, to the unforgettable Article 6 of the Constitution? Impossible. We must now deal with the realities of political life. We must restructure it. We must get used to tolerance. We must learn to solve problems of social regulation in a new way. Now the CPSU, like all the other parties, still has the right to analyze, criticize, and evaluate decisions of state organs and also to participate in an interested and constructive way in the implementation of these decisions.

All other new parties and political associations must also deal with the realities. They must deal, for example, with the fact that at the present time not all of them are organizationally identical to the CPSU. The Communist Party, although it has shrunk considerably in numbers, still remains an influential political force. In turn, this force must be concerned not about itself but about how society perceives it and how to make itself extremely useful and attractive to the people. At the present time we communists are unable to assume either an intermediary or a leading role. This right has to be earned. How? Through concern for the needs of the people above all. Our ritualized statements to the effect that we are a party of social protection will be worth exactly nothing unless proven with evidence and confirmed with significant practical actions. Today this requires an immense amount of by no means traditional work on the part of the party, which, unfortunately, not everyone understands very well.

The Communist Party will fulfill its social purpose only if it functions in society as an effective mechanism for stimulating new energy and political, economic, social, and cultural initiative. And this requires not only ideas and good intentions but also both real means and the strength to support innovation, enterprisingness, inventiveness, and higher productivity.

Up to this point we have perhaps not understood very well that history itself prescribes the compromise necessitated by our new political diversity. Even though so much has been said about compromise! The special policy of concessions is a special and necessary attribute to any democracy, including today's. "A special policy of concessions"—as V.I. Lenin defined it. And he spoke about this most complicated policy as a special science. Concessions not in reason and not in science—spontaneous and ill- considered concessions can do only harm. Certain of I.K. Polozkov's opponents regard his statement at the Third Congress of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] People's Deputies as this kind of concession when in reality it was merely the first sign of a serious and necessary policy of compromise being established in the Communist Party of the Russian Federation.

Until recently the RSFSR Communist Party has engaged in frontal attacks and open polemics with "severe" analysts of its activity (who are popular regardless of how right they are), thus merely increasing their popularity. It has turned out that our rebukes of party critics have met with a positive response only among communists, and in society the responses were more likely to be negative.

Here is what attracts attention: A confrontational tone frequently prevails in Russian plenums along with sharp statements about returning to the past, a low level of constructiveness, a lack of caution in assessments, and a lack of desire to listen to the obstreperous ones—all the attributes of party meetings during the times of stagnation. Sometimes there have even been speeches in defense of the times of stagnation. The very fact that stagnation ever existed has been questioned. The leaders of the RSFSR Communist Party, including myself as the chairman of the Central Control Commission, must regard all these as phenomena which retard progress toward the goal, as mistakes of which we must resolutely rid ourselves. We must not arrange public battles to the death with opponents who are right in many respects. There is no need to see the enemy in every difference of opinion.

It is not the task of the Communist Party to teach Shatalin, or Latsis, or Lipitskiy how to live. They can figure that out for themselves. Although there is also the possibility that they might not figure it out, but they have every right to criticize the party, a right granted to them, incidentally, by the rules. I do not make claims to categorical and unquestionable judgments, but in this case I am profoundly convinced of the correctness of this position, although this certainly does not mean that I agree with absolutely everything in the statements of the aforementioned comrades. Moreover, as chairman of the Central Control Commission, I have had prescribed for me the function of defending the rights of the minority in the party as well as the rights of each individual communist.

Under conditions of political pluralism in a society, pluralism of opinions within the party is inevitable and even necessary. This is a sign of the party's power and not its weakness. I wish to take this occasion to say that we have had enough meetings and proceedings to expose people; let us everywhere adhere to the principle of tolerance of others' beliefs. Strict homogeneity in everything will be the death of us all.

It is known that in the struggle for power many parties wage it with an arsenal of slogans about the broadest democratic transformations. And the minute they become the rulers they begin to clamp down. They say the circumstances require it.

The young parties are so militant and they try so hard to set society against the CPSU! They are not satisfied with sharing power, even though that is all that is possible. The "old," but not obsolete, CPSU understands this at least. Having turned over the legal power to the state structures, the CPSU, because of its organizational power and management experience, retains a certain paternalistic power which keeps the system from collapsing and affords the partners the possibility of growing and becoming strong in political competition. Democracy is not established in a day and it does not grow up suddenly out of totalitarianism like Athens out of the head of Zeus. Historically, on this path it has been necessary to have a transition period which combines the ways of the old and new life. The shaky balance of political forces, the crystal balance of these forces—this is typical of the transition period. Without this kind of balance we can only fall deeper into the crisis and accelerate the disintegration of society. A disintegration which leaves no hope for a better future.

Certainly Not Crystal Criticism

The ritual of criticism remains the main one for all of our political forces and schools, and for some of them it is nearly the only means of self-expression. It is paradoxical but in a society that is already extremely shaky and demoralized, this tactic is still popular. Apparently, because our reality today is so joyless a critical attitude has begun to play the role of a kind of opiate that eases our spiritual pain and makes us forget about our concern for the present and future. Although it has long been clear that plain criticism no longer adds anything to what has already been interpreted many times, and the main thing is that it does not improve anything either.

This is how this traditional property of our consciousness depresses us. As long as Gorbachev was criticizing old policies he was buoyed up by public opinion. When he stopped criticizing and took up the difficult, burdensome labor of daily affairs, which, naturally, do not readily submit to improvement—this is when he ceased to be an idol. Yeltsin was raised up to the heights of power on the wave of his bold criticism of Gorbachev's first failures. But now he too is getting down to hard work, but he has the reputation of an idol not because of his practical and creative work but mainly for his merciless, deliberately hyperbolized, and sometimes unfair criticism. And Polozkov won authority among the Communists of Russia for his bold criticism of the course of perestroyka in a stage when it had entered an area with underground currents as well as for his criticism of the new democracy. But all he had to do was take a businesslike step toward agreement after abandoning his captivating, fruitless criticism—and many communists immediately began to condemn him. They are calling for and demanding that he back off from his uncompromising critical attitude.

But let us return to Yeltsin. His criticism is especially significant. Exhausted from their powerlessness and the social, political, and economic shocks, at one time the Russian people saw in him a strong individual capable of leading Russia (and the country) out of the crisis. This image was encouraged in all ways by his supporters. The time has come for people to look at him more closely, without exalting him. The more so since Boris Nikolayevich has inclinations toward a messianic role.

Take his report at the last meeting which, incidentally, sounded brilliant. But essentially it contained a **system of intentions** and not a **system of results.** Has not enough time passed? Perhaps. All right, let more time pass, but for a long time everyone has needed an analysis of what has been done, if only a few positive changes. Excuses will not work any more.

Take Yeltsin's statement at the congress concerning the existence of two political courses in the country. He also said there were "two policies"—this is the black-and-white variant of analysis of our society, whose political condition has long had a large palette of colors, and the statement was presented in such a way that one course (his) looked progressive and responsive to the fundamental interests of the Russians, and the other was addressed to the center and was protective of it and not the people.

It is simply impossible not to respond to certain of these accusations. In particular, blaming the center for wanting to preserve and consolidate its economic monopoly. It is quite obvious that Gorbachev is engaged not in strengthening his own monopoly but in developing a mechanism for new relations with the republics,

including the Russian Federation, through searching for ways to keep the country from collapse and to strengthen our unified economic space. All of us objectively stand to gain from this.

The accusation that he is taking a course toward modernization of the unitary state under the guise of a "renewed Union" is not convincing at all. What guise? Preservation of our country as a unified whole is the historic task of our entire generation. It is really not our task to destroy our unified homeland. But to rebuild its fundamental structures and organizational foundations of the life of the territories and nations so that they can carry out new tasks—this is a completely legitimate cause. And many are engaged in this, including the center.

Then came accusations about the declaration of a "heated political battle against democratic forces in the country" and the course toward improvement of glasnost, of lies, slander, and illegal bans.

But this is obviously a juggling of facts, which is inadmissible for a political leader of this caliber! The new and the conservative will struggle irrespective of the will of the center or of anybody else's will. The parties frequently allow the unallowable. And the central leadership adopts with great caution only the most correct measures for maintaining the elementary order expected by the people. Is there any point in that kind of exaggeration?

Glasnost, frankly, continues to rage on. And there are plenty of lies, distortions, and extremes everywhere and in everything. Such is our tradition—our legacy from our totalitarian past. But glasnost is a two-edged sword. It heals and it wounds. Few politicians have managed to escape its wounding blows. So be more careful, please, all you up and coming leaders!

Presidential Power

According to the formula of B. Russell, an outstanding British systematician, power can be defined as the **production of the intended results.** The essence is that A has greater power than B if the former achieves the majority of its intended results and the latter does not go beyond the sphere of good intentions. With this approach, power is seen mainly as a means of action of the individual and is not linked to coercion.

The focus on the action of the state leader is, of course, not only and not so much out of personal considerations. Staying a step ahead of mass awareness, he is able to discern a range of circumstances that catalyze the **social demand** (the best example is the idea of perestroyka). But that is on the one hand. On the other hand, and this is fundamental, the potential result constantly being created by society must be preceded by a **political intention declared by the leader.** Now the nature and peculiarities of the result depend to no small degree on this. The secret of the evolutionary mechanism of power lies in the mutually conditioned nature of the designated sides. Incidentally, here also lies the key to the solution to "our hopeless" power paradox.

Let us recall that each leader who has come to lead the country has proclaimed a program of intentions. But few of them have been concerned about the problem of measuring their activity on the curve of a series of **fulfilled** intentions. Stalin is perhaps something of an exception. Even today you sometimes hear that Stalin promised improvement of life and it came, he promised a lowering of prices, and that happened too. For the masses it is not even important that these were minuscule improvements, not to mention the fact that they were at the expense of one-fourth of the population who were repressed and officially forgotten. The image of the leader himself is stamped on our everyday awareness: His promises were fulfilled in concrete deeds and therefore abstract promises about some bright future were raised to the status of a symbol of political foresight and the omnipotence of the "leader of all times and peoples."

Let us take a close look at America. These are its last presidents: Ford, Carter, Ronald Reagan, and Bush. Among the successors to the White House there is a concealed and unchanging competition for the number and level of achievements of intended results. When any of the U.S. presidents has neglected this formula, he has not managed to remain for a second term or to go down in history with three initials.

Stalin, Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Andropov, and Chernenko relied on power sustained according to the coercion formula. Thus they rode the wave of totalitarian psychology. Times are different now. From now on, under the conditions of our thrusts toward democracy, the very essence of presidential power must be manifested in this quite remarkable quality—the personal will to produce the intended results. The essence of power does not change because this will can be forcibly directed toward the adoption of unpopular or harsh but justified measures or decisions. So any subject of power risks losing it if he is looking backward and at the same time relying on the most diversified structure to hold it in check during its innovative bursts forward. Especially those who have gotten used to functioning with inertia according to principles of compulsory order. The famous philosopher Bacon said that the person who does not take new measures must expect new evils, for time is the greatest innovator.

But the problem is not that a person incapable of overcoming the pressure of old forces stands to lose, but that the country stands to lose at the same time. Our country, like any other, is extremely interested in making sure that each president, beginning with the first, is able to express himself with optimal results. Each instance of his self-expression is at the same time a step in the country's movement toward a new quality of life.

To critics of our president who very frequently attack him for not having been elected by all the people and therefore not being regarded as legitimate I would like to say the following. In the first place, in legislative republics the president is usually elected by the legislature or some other form of popular representation. In the

second place, Gorbachev's rating among not only the elected officials but also among the population during that period was extremely high, as the most diverse sociological polls have shown. In the third place, the majority cannot always be right and fair in everything. How frequently it has been mistaken! The crucifixion of Christ is a classic example. I think it is also appropriate to recall Hegel, who warned: One must not be unilaterally oriented toward public opinion, it—simultaneously (!)—contains both truth and falsehood. It is a great man who is capable of seeing the falsehood in public opinion and going against its demands.

Let us recall that we approved of all of Gorbachev's intentions when he came to power. Now we see that he is unable to achieve results of his rule that are convincing in the eyes of all of society. It is difficult for him to do this when the part of the intentions that have actually been achieved have been forgotten or subjected to vicious opposition. Everything has been mixed together: Both the positive and the negative are equally undesirable to a society divided between the political extremes.

Let us recall and be grateful or at least fair: It was exactly six years ago that the basis was laid for the first nonviolent revolution in our country. But was that also the beginning of a new age in the world—the age of nonviolent civilization? This is no exaggeration: Russia (our homeland's second historical name) and Gorbachev made it possible for the East European countries to decide their fates independently, they did not stand in the way of the unification of Germany, and they began to distance themselves from cruel Third World regimes. Gorbachev's international policy, which finally put an end to the Cold War, which demanded immense and senseless expenditures of human energy and other resources, created conditions for a more productive and peaceful life. So peaceful that enthusiasts today are ready to disband the army completely. It would seem that now is the time to be working. But such insane criticism has been leveled against our leader from all sides of society. Nina Andreyeva and Yuriy Burtin are competing to see who can strike a harder blow to our president. Just think of what would happen if they were working together! God, how dangerous it would be to lose all ability to see things clearly. And to lose it for the simple reason that in our ultimately free society, everyone who has been **singled out** on the basis of democratic freedoms, naively thinks that he knows better than others what to do and what not to do and where to lead the homeland now.

We blame ourselves for our blind faith in our previous leaders but at the same time we forget how harshly and how unfairly we dealt with some of them. With Nicholas II and Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev, for example. And today we forget that our president is a completely mortal person, that just like anyone else he has problems of personal feelings and moods, he has nerves, a temperament, and predilections, and we forget that, although he has iron self-control, it is not infinite. All this can and should be taken as a significant factor contributing to the results of his statesmanship. His, incidentally, and ours. This is why the uncivilized, unsympathetic, incautious, and direct attacks of certain opponents of the USSR president seem so destructive to the state. It is quite obvious that proper and businesslike criticism—which is substantiated, and exceptionally well balanced—will achieve far greater results than attacks on the president's character. Then let us consider: Will this deliberately paraded severity and heartlessness not have a boomerang effect, will they not infect our souls and poison our minds? So let us not destroy ourselves along with our first president. It would be more honest and produce better results if we would help the highest official of the state—including with criticism, but it must be objective and of a high quality. It must not be shameful. And then.

Shevardnadze Comments on Way Out of Crisis

LD3004154891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Excerpt] Two of today's newspapers, NEZAVISIMAYA PRAVDA and KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA publish interviews with Eduard Shevardnadze, president of the Foreign Policy Association. The NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA article is entitled: Europe and the United States Are Equally Interested in the USSR Pulling Itself Out of the Crisis. In Shevardnadze's opinion, a rational basis for pulling the country out of the crisis exists in principle. It will undoubtedly be aided in this by the striving toward unification of the various political currents that have been taking shape in recent times. There are prospects for a consolidation of healthy forces. Shevardnadze considers it essential that there should be a correct combination of democratic institutions with real and strong executive power. Touching on the situation in foreign policy, the president of the association answered questions related to the recent Soviet-Japanese summit talks, new policies in relation to Eastern Europe, and difficulties that have arisen in connection with the withdrawal of a contingent of several thousand Soviet troops from European countries. [passage omitted]

'Incompetent' Management Causing 'Brain Drain'

LD0305220391 Moscow World Service in English 2000 GMT 16 Apr 91

[From the "Straight From the Horse's Mouth" program]

[Text] And finally, a problem we've considered repeatedly in our previous programs—the status of scientists in this country.

"Grey Gold for Sale" is the title of an article in the new weekly RADIKAL:

Today we can state with bitter certainty that within a record period of time of only two years, from early 1989 until the first months of this year, science and education in this country have been substantially undermined. Mass unemployment among scientists is a reality. A mere 20-25 years ago, the level of science and education in the USSR was recognized worldwide as one of the

highest. It's a truism to say that the loss of scientific potential is irreversible. The future is crossed out for decades to come.

The author of the article believes, and not without reason, that we are witnessing the eradication of the intelligentsia as a class—predetermined by incompetent economic management. Many will go to work abroad, but few will find a place of their own there, and will be able to bring the same benefit as they would have back home—back in a country which didn't want and couldn't pay for the work and talent of its children.

The weekly RADIKA again:

This article selection will lead to the nation's further degradation. And all this is being decided now, during these critical months. There's no more breathing space. What can a disintegrating, state do if it wants to, in order to retain the country's main wealth—grey gold—the brains of its scientists and engineers, gold that is much dearer than white or black gold?

The commodity has to be sold. The intellectual potential of this country's scientists is not worse than in the rich countries. This country could sell the commodity at low prices. This could be beneficial to both advanced and developing countries, with the latter getting the opportunity to put their own economies on their feet. And finally this could be beneficial to ourselves.

A high quality commodity could be sold with advantage for a limited period of time, thus preventing a brain drain. If this job was taken on by the government acting together with public organizations, this, thinks the author, could help the integration of Soviet science into the world's scientific and, who knows, perhaps economic community.

Well, of course, this is only one possible, albeit a controversial, solution to an urgent problem which will no doubt crop up in our future broadcasts more than once.

Further on Decree on Afghan Veterans

PM3004082391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Apr 91 Second Edition p 2

[USSR president's decree dated 25 April: "On Measures for the Social Rehabilitation of People Who Fulfilled Their International Duty in the Republic of Afghanistan, Members of Their Families, and Other Participants in Local Conflicts Outside the USSR and for the Improvement of Their Living and Everyday Conditions"]

[Text] The measures being taken by state organs to resolve problems of vital importance to people who fulfilled their international duty in the Republic of Afghanistan, members of their families, and other participants in local conflicts outside the USSR are plainly inadequate. Their needs for housing, skilled medical assistance, and good-quality prosthetic appliances are not being met in full. These people are experiencing serious difficulties in finding employment, in vocational training, and in raising their qualifications.

There is an unwarranted delay in drawing up the state program envisaged in decisions of the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies and aimed at resolving questions connected with arranging the life and daily routine of former servicemen and other people who were members of the contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, as well as the families of dead servicemen.

Resolving these questions without delay will promote the active involvement of people who fulfilled their international duty in the cause of sociopolitical and economic transformations in the country.

Taking the aforesaid into account, I decree:

1. It is noted that the USSR Government has unjustifiably dragged out the elaboration of a state program aimed at resolving questions connected with arranging the life and daily routine of participants in the Afghan events. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers is to complete its preparation by 1 June 1991.

Comrade V.S. Pavlov is to place this question under his personal control.

2. With the participation of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for the Affairs of Internationalist Servicemen, the USSR Cabinet of Ministers is to examine the following questions as priority measures before the state program is approved:

the organization of a scientific methods center for sociopolitical problems and the medical and psychological rehabilitation of people who were members of the contingent of troops in the Republic of Afghanistan, as well as members of the families of dead servicemen;
the elaboration of a system of measures for the vocational training and retraining and for raising the qualifications of people who fulfilled their international duty, as well as instructing them in the fundamentals of enterprise under conditions of the switch to a market economy, including periods of training in the country's major scientific centers and abroad;
the giving of good-quality prosthetic and orthopedic assistance in order to provide all invalids among former internationalist servicemen with aids to mobility by 1993, having made provision for the necessary hard currency funds to be allocated for these purposes;
the creation of a fund to assist people who fulfilled their international duty outside the USSR by pooling the funds allocated by state organs, public organizations, and citizens to improve the life and daily routine of the said people;
the creation of conditions for the efficient economic activities of enterprises organized with the assistance of state organs or by unions and other voluntary associations of participants in the Afghan events, the preferential granting of material resources to them, provision with state orders and long-term credit, and assistance in foreign economic activity;

the formation of a state organ for the affairs of people who fulfilled their international duty outside the USSR in order to ensure the coordination of the efforts of state and public organizations in improving these people's living and everyday conditions, to create a mechanism for realizing state and public aid programs, and to involve them in useful sociopolitical and economic activity.

3. The USSR Security Council is to take measures to coordinate the activities of interested ministries and other organs and organizations in seeking, releasing, and returning to the motherland Soviet citizens taken prisoner or missing in the Republic of Afghanistan.

4. With a view to improving medical aid and care for former servicemen who have become first-category invalids as a consequence of injury, contusion, maiming, or illness received in the fulfillment of their international duty, it is deemed necessary to grant pension rights, given the necessary period of work and regardless of age, to one parent, the spouse, or other person constantly caring for an invalid.

The USSR Cabinet of Ministers is to prepare for submission to the USSR Supreme Soviet proposals for corresponding changes to the legislation on the provision of pensions.

5. Republic governments, local soviets, ministries and other state organs, public organizations and charitable foundations are recommended to take additional measures to improve the living and everyday conditions of Soviet citizens who fulfilled their international duty in the Republic of Afghanistan, members of their families, and other participants in local conflicts outside the USSR.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, president of the USSR.

Economic

Three Scenarios for Economic Future Viewed

914A0702A Moscow EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN in Russian No 18, Apr 91 p 6

[Unattributed article: "An Evaluation of Development Scenarios for the USSR National Economy in 1991"]

[Text] Central economic organs of the Cabinet of Ministers, in cooperation with a number of research organizations, independent experts, and national economy specialists, developed projected scenarios for the development of the USSR national economy in 1991, taking into account the existing sociopolitical and economic situation, as well as scenarios for opportunities to ameliorate this situation on the basis of measures envisaged by the "Action Program of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers for Overcoming the Economic Crisis."

From among a multitude of scenarios, the following appear to be the most likely:

First. The economy of the country is regulated by the mechanisms in place; no special anti-crisis measures are taken; the sociopolitical situation in the country develops in keeping with emerging trends, based on the existing balance of forces and interests.

Second. The anti-crisis program is adopted and steadily implemented by all republics, social forces, and movements to its full extent.

Third. It is resolved to fully abandon direct state intervention in the economy, and to switch to exclusively market-based relations.

Calculations and expert evaluations of the above three scenarios have yielded the following results:

The First Scenario

The influence of strikes and of the massive violations of contractual discipline caused by them on production stoppages along the entire chain of economic interaction is decisive in evaluating the consequences of this scenario of events. In addition, restrictions on the import of goods, raw materials, and subcontracted parts as a result of delays in the provision of foreign loans due to an unstable situation are also taken into account, primarily in light industry, the production of goods for cultural, service, and household uses, and the chemical industry.

If these trends persist in 1991, profound unfavorable changes will occur in the economy which will take years to rectify. Calculations indicate that the national income will decline by approximately 20 percent, out of which between 23 and 25 percent of the decline will occur in the last nine months of the year. It will be impossible to stabilize the situation in 1992 given a decline in the national income of this magnitude.

Industrial output will decline by 20 percent, including a 25 percent decline in the last nine months. As a result, the impact of shrinking initial resources will cause stoppages and disruptions in the processing industries.

The reduction in the accumulation and capital investment funds envisaged by the all-Union forecast for 1991 will be exacerbated. The overall amount of capital investment may decline by approximately 20 billion rubles [R], mainly due to a reduction in the volume of construction and assembly work in conjunction with shortfalls in the delivery of vital material and technical resources (rolled metal, cement, and so on). This decline will occur not only with regard to capital investment in production, but will also affect non-production investment (approximately by R3 billion). This may bring about a failure to commission more than 12 million square meters of housing, or about 200,000 apartments. The financing of programs and facilities covered by state orders may be completely suspended due to withholdings not being contributed to the Union budget and the economic stabilization fund.

The results of such economic development will affect the life of the populace extremely unfavorably. A decline in the consumption fund compared to 1990 may be smaller than that of the national income as a whole. The level of material benefit consumption per capita will decline by 15 to 20 percent. The main blow will be struck at those who work at state enterprises and offices, as well as retirees. In these instances, the standard of living may decline by one-fourth. Effective social protection will be impossible under the circumstances due to the complete absence of financial and material resources for providing it. A decline in production estimated under this scenario with a view to containing a complete collapse of monetary circulation as much as possible will require that all adopted social programs be frozen, and that about 15 to 18 million people be released from production, with unemployment benefits paid.

Undoubtedly, this turn of events will cause a sociopolitical explosion in the country long before the end of the calendar year.

The Second Scenario

Stepped-up anti-crisis measures taken by all republics and labor collectives will make it possible to avoid profound, irreversible changes. A realistic opportunity to ensure economic stabilization in 1992 will appear. Individual production facilities and deliveries of goods in the national economy will be stopped. In conjunction with this, the populace may count on a slow return to the level of production and consumption in the country to begin in October 1991. Apparently, losses in the first quarter will not be made up successfully. However, prerequisites will be created for a substantial improvement of the situation in the fourth quarter and in 1992.

Taking into account the measures to support the operation of priority sectors of the national economy envisaged by the program, losses in the output of consumer goods under this scenario will be cut by R33 billion compared to the first scenario, including those of foodstuffs by R13 billion (compared to R18 billion), and other non-food items by R20 billion (compared to R57 billion).

A drop in the national income for the year as a whole will amount to about 10 percent, and that in industrial output will amount to approximately 13 percent. It should be noted in particular that under this scenario a decline of the consumption fund will be successfully reduced to a considerable degree.

The extent of possible unemployment will be reduced to a manageable magnitude, in conjunction with which it will be possible to provide work for the people by setting up a chain of small enterprises, developing consumer services and road construction, and in necessary cases also by the direct payment of benefits.

The Third Scenario

The estimates made indicate that an abrupt switch to market relations will cause the deepest drop in output of any of the possible scenarios for the development of events.

Volumes of the national income and industrial output in the year as a whole will decline by no less than 30 percent. The overall number of unemployed may reach about 30 million. The bulk of the populace may end up below the poverty line. It appears impossible to predict either the scope or the timing of an unfavorable response by the populace.

Baltic Republics

Estonia Urges Quick Decision on Economic Zone

LD0605182191 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 5 May 91

[Text] Yesterday, the Kohtla-Jarve, Sillamae, and Narva chairmen of town councils, mayors, first secretaries of the Communist Party and Supreme Soviet members met to confer. Our correspondent, (?Ahto Siig), managed to talk to Narva Town Council Chairman Vladimir Chuykin and Mayor Valeriy Mizhuy only tonight. According to Vladimir Chuykin, the Narva town authorities have requested an expert opinion on the plan of the Republic of Estonia Government in respect of a Narva free economic zone. Recently, two Swedish economists visited Narva and appealed to the town inhabitants to agree to the government plan.

Two scientists of the USSR Academy of Sciences participated in yesterday's conference. They were also said to have rated Savisaars' government plan in a positive light. Vladimir Chuykin did not wish to reveal the names of either those nor the Swedish experts, for the time being.

The conference also discussed cooperation opportunities for the Narva and Leningrad economic zones and an option for action, depending on Estonia's Supreme Soviet resolutions: Will there be a free economic zone or not? There is a need to quickly establish a free economic zone, even according to the government's version. Later it will definitely spread all across Estonia. This is what Vladimir Chuykin thought.

Mayor Valeriy Mizhuy said that leaders of other towns in northeast Estonia accuse the Narva leadership of restricting the free economic zone solely to Narva. Mutual understanding among the three towns was said to have improved in the course of the conference, however. Scores of offers—from Estonia, from the USSR, from Europe, as well as from Asia—for cooperation with the Narva free economic zone and for setting up joint ventures have already been received. Valeriy Mizhuy also believes that a free economic zone must be set up promptly.

Estonian Pension Increase Effective 1 May

LD0305221191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1716 GMT 3 May 91

[By TASS correspondent]

[Text] Tallinn, 3 May (TASS)—The 1st of May brought pleasant news to the pensioners of Estonia. Pensions for all those who become pensioners after 1 May this year are being set according to the new law that was recently adopted by the Estonian Supreme Soviet and they are to become significantly larger. This has been reported by the ETA Agency.

"Currently, the pensions for old age pensioners and for disabled pensioners belong to the first and second groups of disability has a maximum level of twice the minimum wage," Social Care Minister Siiri Oviir told an ETA correspondent, "and now the minimum wage is 135 rufbles [R]; therefore, the upper limit for such pensions is R270." The minister confirmed, however, that this "ceiling" will disappear as of January 1993.

As from 1 May all working pensioners also have the right to receive their pension in full as well. Pensions set before 1 May are also to increase.

Baltic Strike Committee Puts Demands to Latvia

PM0405185191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 May 91 Union Edition p 1

[POSTFACTUM report: "Baltic Strike Committee Presents Demands"]

[Text] The Baltic Strike Committee has sent a statement to the Latvian Republic Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers on behalf of the labor collectives of 42 enterprises and organizations. The statement contains demands for: the signing of the Union treaty "to prevent the economy's further descent into ultimate collapse"; the reduction to general Union levels of prices for all goods and services; the adoption of a law on the indexation of wages and compensation payments to the entire population out of the republic budget; and the abrogation of the decision to transfer the ownership of land, enterprises, buildings, and other property to their former owners or their descendants. If the demands are ignored, POSTFACTUM reports, the committee is prepared to take extraordinary measures up to and including mass civil disobedience and political demonstrations.

Latvia Marks Independence Declaration Jubilee

PM0605153791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 May 91 Union Edition p 2

["Direct Line" report by Irina Litvinova: "Latvia, One Year On"]

[Text] Riga—The anniversary of the Declaration on the Restoration of Independence was celebrated in Latvia 4 May.

On the eve of the anniversary Latvian Foreign Minister Janis Jurkans made a promise in a television interview: I do not know what will happen on the economic front, but we will obtain political freedom at the end of this year. Evidently to hasten that day, at the insistence of the People's Front faction, the Supreme Soviet Presidium recently excluded the sole opposition representative—"Equal Rights" faction leader Sergey Dimanis—from the delegation for talks with the USSR. The explanation was as follows: We want to restore independence, so there is no room for the opposition at the negotiating table. This concept of political democracy was a shock to many: Who, then, is going to represent the interests of those—at least 500,000 of them—whose view of the republic's and their own future is different from that of the People's Front?

The day, 4 May, passed without any lavish celebrations and demonstrations. It was an unusually sunny day and Riga was empty. Indeed, 50 of the 200 deputies were missing from the jubilee session of the legislature. Passersby questioned on the streets of the Latvian capital by correspondents—from Latvian television to Radio Liberty—gave various assessments of the year of independence. "We will put up with anything," one said. "But we have not noticed any independence," others replied.

To give them their due, in many prejubilee interviews Latvian statesmen were restrained and critical.

Ilmars Bisers, first deputy chairman of the Latvian Council of Ministers (the newspaper ZIEME):

"Mr. Bisers, what, in your view, are the stumbling blocks in our path to freedom?"

"One year ago we were hoping to do more. It is pointless to look for scapegoats. The government and the Supreme Soviet must take responsibility. The most serious mistake, in my view, is our failure to take advantage of the favorable situation that prevailed last summer. The Union Government was unsettled, because it did not know what position to adopt regarding the Baltic republics. That was when we should have acted dynamically...."

Assessing the recent statement by the nine republics and the center, Latvian Supreme Soviet Chairman Anatolijs Gorbunovs said that henceforth there are no grounds for accusing Latvia of violating the USSR Constitution. In his view, it is clear from the statement that the USSR Constitution no longer applies, and there is no point talking about having to implement it. Ivars Godmanis, chairman of the Latvian Council of Ministers, said that the most-favored status mentioned in the statement should be granted irrespective of whether a particular republic of the former Union signs the Union treaty.

Latvian Communist Party Not Planning Violence

LD0605211991 Riga Radio Riga International in Latvian 1930 GMT 6 May 91

[Text] Referring to the indignation expressed in much of the mass media about the Baltic Military Personnel Association and its aims, Alfreds Rubiks, leader of the Communist Party of Latvia, stated that the Communist Party has no intention of any violent action. He did add, however, that in the event that the inhabitants display dissatisfaction with the decision of the Latvian legislature not to sign the Union treaty and if they take to the streets or otherwise display civil disobedience, then the Communist Party will not remain on the sidelines. In Rubiks' opinion, the Communist Party will take on the leadership of this movement.

Latvia Restricts Food, Industrial Goods Exports

LD0605155791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1200 GMT 6 May 91

[Text] A report from Riga: To further restrict the export of food and industrial goods, the Latvian Government has stipulated that everyone leaving the republic is entitled to take out food products and industrial goods with an overall value of 50 rubles. Supervision of compliance with the restrictions has been entrusted to Latvian customs control.

Lithuania's Butkevicius Threatens To Expose KGB

LD0705115291 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2300 GMT 6 May 91

[Text] The director general of the country's defense department, Audrius Butkevicius, has warned officers of the Soviet KGB division in Lithuania that all available data about them, including photos, will be published in the press. He said in an interview with the RESPUBLIKA daily that this would be resorted to if the KGB continues to infiltrate its agents into the country's defense and the republic's state security department.

In the interview, the head of the country's defense department characterized in detail the KGB's structures and heads of separate divisions, adding that these data had no operational value whatsoever.

Lithuania Protests OMON 'Terrorist Actions'

LD0705102691 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 7 May 91

[Statement issued by the Government of the Republic of Lithuania; place and date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] A statement by the Government of the Republic of Lithuania:

The USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] militia unit of special designation, the so-called OMON, [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] continues, to carry out actions of violence and robbery in the Republic of Lithuania. Until today, the leadership of the USSR MVD denied that the OMON unit, which is subordinated to it, was taking part in these actions. Recently, however, two members of this unit were caught red-handed at the scene of the crime. Senior Sergeant Shavelev, Senior Sergeant Voronets, and two civilians, Jermolavicius, who is unemployeed, and Visakevicius, a worker at the Ukmerge reinforced concrete plant, were arrested by members of the Ukmerge police at the scene of the crime. On behalf of the aforementioned fact, criminal proceedings have been instituted by the Ukmerge procurator's office.

The government of the Republic of Lithuania declares: While financing OMON activity in the Republic of Lithuania and supplying it with arms and explosives, the USSR MVD induce terrorist actions against the Republic of Lithuania. All responsibility for the consequeces of possible OMON actions falls on the Government of the USSR.

Further Reportage on Sajudis Seimas Rally

Supreme Council Deputy Chairman Speaks

LD0505224591 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 1543 GMT 4 May 91

[Address by Ceslovac Stankevicius, Lithuanian Supreme Council Deputy Chairman, at a rally in Vingis Park in Vilnius—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] I hope that this spring most, or perhaps all, the young people and their parents will answer the following question: Can one do military service in the Armed Forces which on 13 January were crushing and shooting at defenseless people at the TV tower and the Radio and TV buildings? [passage omitted]

Lithuanian envoys have been repeating the proposals endlessly behind the thick and crenellated walls of the Kremlin. These proposals have not been heard; therefore, today, here in your presence, I would like to repeat them so they can be heard both in the Kremlin, Europe, and on the other side of the ocean: We propose that the government of the Soviet Union undertake the obligation without delay to renounce the use of force in Lithuania and the threat to use force. We demand that the occupied buildings be returned without delay and that the aggressive violent military units of the Soviet Union and the security forces be withdrawn. We propose to the Soviet Union that they renew their recognition of the Republic of Lithuania without delay and start concrete and businesslike negotiations to determine neighborly relations. [passage omitted]

Prime Minister Vagnorius Speaks

LD0605142491 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 1555 GMT 4 May 91

[Speech by Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius at rally in Vingis Park, Vilnius—live]

[Excerpts] There are those who ask: Why do you need a democratic state? as if it were something thought up by hotheads. No, we have already had a state of our own—a larger and a smaller one—one that was set up in worse and better fashion, but nevertheless our own. Moreover, an individual state is not an aim, but a natural means of preserving the national identity of all those who live in Lithuania, to foster democracy and to establish personal well-being. Thus we are fostering the government also. We are not reviving the bourgeoisie, captalism, or socialism, but a normal state system. We are not seeking.... [interrupted by applause]. We are also not seeking to isolate ourselves, or to break off relations—political, as well as economic—with the East as well as with the West. Lithuania is already leading a life of its own. A state has been established, not a declaration. [passage omitted]

If we had continued to live according to the Lithuanian Socialist Republic's order, or the lack thereof, we would not have survived. [passage indistinct] [applause] Do not interfere, comrades and gentlemen, and we will even have some currency. Do not prevent us from establishing our own life—this will be not only to our, but also to your advantage. [appaluse] [Words indistinct] perhaps you will also understand better, but perhaps we will help you, as well.

We all understand that a difficult path lies before us and we shall proceed—proceed where [word indistinct]. The worst policy is not to do anything. During this unspeakably tense period, the government does not intend to whine or to throw itself into different directions. This is attested by the decrees we are adopting.

We must, we are obligated to turn to a market economy, to return Lithuania to initiative, domesticity, self-respect—all those things without which no state, respecting itself and its [words indistinct] decent state.

During this difficult time, Lithuania has not yet rid itself of those who whine. An opposition is forming as well. Opposition is necessary. We also have those, however, who engage in criticism for the sake of criticism, when even an argument cannot be found, nor can a constructive idea be formulated. There are also those who seek to belittle the defenders of independence—to scorn [word indistinct] the Supreme Council and also the government as such. [shouts of support]

Those individuals are afraid that Lithuania will become free; that, although it is not large, it will become a healthy and strong state." [passage omitted] We need those who act with concentration. [passage omitted]

Defense Chief Addresses Rally

LD0605144791 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 1604 GMT 4 May 91

[Speech by Lithuanian Defense Chief Andrius Butkevicius at rally in Vingis park, Vilnius,—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] If violence is used and attempts are made to occupy something that the state cannot do without, then we will defend ourselves. It is necessary, however, to understand the real essence of the conflict, which is political control over the state that is being occupied. The military force used by the occupant is only one of the means to achieve political control. [passage omitted]

There is no doubt that the state of Lithuania must be defended, and by this the fact of the use of force and aggression must be recorded. Then let no one raise any doubt concerning our self-determination, the unlawfulness of Soviet actions, or the assessment of the activities of those collaborators who wish to bring back Stalinism. The state structures of the state of Lithuania will carry out this duty. We will defend ourselves.

The objective of the enemy in this struggle is to destroy the government of the Republic of Lithuania, to destroy the administration, to split the political forces, to establish collaborators in leading posts and, what is most important,

to convince the people that the Soviets have won, to instill a sense of helplessness and pessimism in Lithuanians.

Our objective is to survive, to preserve the nation, to consolidate all political forces which aspire for the existence of an independent state, and in this way to set up a firm political opposition to the occupiers. [passage omitted] While being kept by force in the Soviet Union, Lithuania threatens the integrity of the empire itself. Time is our ally in this struggle; every day more and more people are joining the democratic movement. Even in the structures of the Armed Forces and the KGB, a split is taking place. [passage omitted]

I urge all the young people of Lithuania not to join the Soviet Armed Forces.

Lithuania's Landsbergis Pays Visit to Washington

LD0605153191

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian at 0700 GMT on 6 May broadcasts a 2-minute report by editor Edmundas Motieka on the arrival in Washington of Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis.

The report begins by noting that Landsbergis was greeted on arrival at the airport by the Lithuanian representative in Washington, Stasys Lozoraitis, by the State Department representative and chief of the Baltic countries section [name indistinct], and by a group of approximately 100 Baltimore and Washington Lithuanians.

The report goes on to state that in his brief arrival statement, "Vytautas Landsbergis noted that in the event he is unsuccessful in meeting with President Bush as planned, he will meet with other high officials and his visit will, nevertheless, be politically meaninful."

Among other meetings scheduled for this afternoon, the report notes, Landsbergis is to address the National Press Club.

Lithuania's Vagorius Submits 'Program of Action'

LD0405033391 Vilnius International Service in English 2130 GMT 3 May 91

[Text] The Lithuanian prime minister, Gediminas Vagnorius, submitted to legislature the government's program of action. The preamble of the program notes that while implementing economic reform the government will seek to overcome the economic crisis, counterbalance price increases by higher wages, raise living standards, and guarantee social justice. With a view to consolidating Lithuania's position as an independent state, the government will pursue consistent foreign policies, taking into consideration the current political processes in the Soviet Union, Europe, and the world. For that goal the Lithuanian Government will seek to sign a bilateral interstate treaty with the Soviet Union that would recognize the independent Republic of Lithuania.

On implementing the key objectives of the governmental program, Lithuania's economy and legal system would be brought nearer to the present-day model of the European market and would lay the foundations for an independent, neutral Lithuanian state.

The legislature is due to start debate on the governmental program next week.

Vilnius' New Mayor Elected 'Almost Unanimously'

PM0705104091 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 May 91 First Edition p 6

[Correspondent Yu. Stroganov report under the "Ticker Tape" rubric: "All Hopes on the Mayor"]

[Text] Vilnius—Candidate of Mathematicophysical Sciences A. Staras, 40-year-old author of more than 40 scientific works, postgraduate of Moscow State University, and docent of Vilnius University, has become mayor of Vilnius.

As is known, Vilnius City Soviet recently expressed no confidence in the previous mayor, who had neglected the city economy. Now a new mayor has been elected almost unanimously. Hopes are pinned on him not only because he is a scientist and a highly cultured person—in addition to Lithuanian, for example, he speaks Russian, Polish, Czech, and English. The main thing is that he has shown a desire to instill order in the city and has demonstrated knowledge of the problems of Vilnius.

Lithuania's Social Democrats Hold Conference

LD0505015591 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 2000 GMT 4 May 91

[Text] The Great University Hall was the site today of the start of the 15th conference of the Social Democrats party of Lithuania. During today's meetings, delegates heard a report by the party's chairman, Professor Kazimieras Antanavicius. A discussion was held concerning the party's statutes and certain other questions were also discussed.

The conference will continue its work tomorrow.

Chairman Elected

LD0505222891 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 5 May 91

[Summary] The 15th congress of the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party has concluded. Professor Aloyzas Sakalas has been elected chairman of the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party.

RSFSR

Yeltsin Delivers Report to Supreme Soviet

LD0605102791 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 0900 GMT 6 May 91

[Report by correspondent Vladimir Korablev on the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, Supreme Soviet session in Moscow]

[Text] There is a joint sitting of the chambers of the Russian legislature today. RSFSR Supreme Soviet Chairman Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin opened the session by delivering a report on the state of affairs in the country. He noted that strikes by the miners, who put forward economic demands alongside political ones, were one of the most complex problems in April. An urgent solution must be found to that complex situation, and the meeting between the leaders of the nine Union republics and the president of the country, as well as the joint statement which they signed, played no small role here. Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin stressed that this was the first step in leading the country out of the crisis. The positions of the Union republics became clearer and the overall position of their leaders made it possible to find a coordinated solution to ending the strikes.

The chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation informed the deputies briefly of the results of his trip to the Kuzbass and on the instructions signed by him on the transfer of the coal sector to the jurisdiction of Russia.

Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin also dwelt upon questions of implementing the main clauses of legislative acts connected with land reform. Despite the fact that over 17,000 individual farms have been organized in the Russian Federation already, Yeltsin said, the decision of the Council of Ministers on allocating plots of land to the population is not being implemented in a number of oblasts, and this is a blatant violation of republic legislation. He called upon members of the Supreme Soviet to step up work to implement the land reform.

Further, the chairman of the legislature briefed the deputies on the instructions signed by him delimiting the duties of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet and his deputies. He also touched upon preparations by legislature of a number of important legislative documents.

After that, the deputies began to examine the draft law of the RSFSR on the introduction of changes and additions into the Constitution in connection with the institution of the post of president of Russia. The draft which had been presented was adopted as a basis and it will be approved by a routine Congress of People's Deputies.

Another legislative act being discussed in legislature is the draft law on the republic's constitutional court. Deputies are now examining amendments to that legislative act.

Cites Talks With KGB's Kryuchkov

LD0605121791 Moscow TASS in English 1149 GMT 6 May 91

[Text] Moscow May 6 TASS—There are now growing chances for a steady headway along a mutually coordinated road, Russian parliament chairman Boris Yeltsin said in his opening speech at a plenary meeting of the Russian Federation parliament.

He highly assessed the joint statement signed at the end of April by leaders of nine Union republics and the president of the USSR.

"If the intentions expressed during the meeting and set out in the signed statement are in earnest, it can be said that the first big political step has been taken towards getting out of the deep crisis in which the country has found itself," he said.

Yeltsin described the strikes by working people in various economic sectors as one of the most complex problems in April. He told Russian people's deputies that Yuriy Skokov, Russia's deputy prime minister, and Vitaly Doguzhiyev, USSR's first deputy prime minister, today signed an agreement to transfer the coal industry to the Russian Federation's jurisdiction.

The Russian parliament chairman also informed deputies about a meeting with Vladimir Kryuchkov on May 5, at which agreement was reached to delineate functions between the KGB of the USSR and the Russian Federation.

Yeltsin said that he and Kryuchkov today signed a protocol on the establishment of Russia's state security agencies.

Yeltsin, Kryuchkov Sign Protocol on Russian KGB

LD0605125391 Moscow TASS in English 1102 GMT 6 May 91

[By TASS legislative correspondent Boris Zverev]

[Text] Moscow May 6 TASS—President of the Russian parliament Boris Yeltsin and all-Union KGB Chairman Vladimir Kryuchkov signed a protocol on establishing the Russian State Security Committee. The protocol provides for delineating functions between republican and all-union state security bodies.

Kryuchkov noted in a short interview with Soviet reporters after signing the protocol that an optimum structure for cooperation between the KGB of the USSR and the Russian Federation will be worked out in the near future.

"The most important thing is that we do not violate the indivisibility of security of the Union and individual republics," Kryuchkov stressed.

He noted that "initially the all-Union committee will shoulder the role of tackling various tasks".

Ivanenko on Russian KGB Priorities

LD0605150391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 6 May 91

[Text] Major General Viktor Ivanenko, who has been named chairman of the Russian KGB, and was confirmed by the Supreme Soviet on 5 May, said this in an interview with the RUSSIAN NEWS AGENCY:

We need to move into solving specific tasks, intelligence, counter-intelligence, the fight against organized crime, ending anti-constitutional activity, and also providing information to the bodies of power and administration.

In Ivanenko's opinion, one of the most important questions is the regulation of relations with public organizations and political parties. These new relations presuppose reciprocal contacts. General Ivanenko recognizes the urgency of the problem of removing the party from the state bodies, but in his opinion this question must be solved legislatively, and not at rallies by workers of the KGB.

Viktor Ivanenko has worked for the KGB since 1970. He is married and has three daughters. He is a member of the CPSU. His last job was coordinating the activity of territorial bodies of the KGB in Russia.

Yeltsin Interviewed on Radio Rossii

LD0605101991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1230 GMT 5 May 91

[Interview with Boris Yeltsin, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet chairman, by commentator Boris Morkovnikov in Moscow; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Morkovnikov] What was the reason for Yeltsin's trip to the Kuzbass? What were the reasons for it? My talks with Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin started with this question.

[Yeltsin] You know that for two months now a most complex strike has been going on, and Kuzbass is one of the main strike regions. This means that the tension there is also at its highest. After the emergency Third Congress of Peoples' Deputies, the organ of power in Russia, as well as those of the whole country, have been holding talks with striking collectives. According to a decision made by the congress, an interlegislative group was set up, as had been suggested, and our own legislative group joined it to coordinate all issues connected with the demands of the miners, and, indeed, of other collectives. By the end of April, part of this joint work was completed, but in order to finally check it somebody had to go there and finalize, and sign with them a document in which measures are set out in detail, and a mechanism of their transfer to Russia, as well as all kinds of economic, financial, and tax-related incentives. And this was done.

I signed this document on 1 May. That was the main reason. But there was yet another reason for me to fly out immediately, right at that time. This was the meeting the supreme leaders of nine republics held with the country's president on 23 April. I received a telegram from the miners. They asked me to explain what had happened, if they were not to decide that this was a powerful blow against the workers' movement. Therefore, I decided that the best thing would be to explain everything on the spot, rather than invite the miners to come here. So, that was also a reason.

[Morkovnikov] What is the situation regarding the strike movement and the workers movement in Russia?

[Yeltsin] Today the workers' movement in the Kuzbass and in Russia, throughout the country in fact, is undergoing a dramatic upsurge—and not just in the narrow context of a movement of workers. An increasing number of people in various professions—teachers, doctors, engineers and even scientific workers—are adopting active social positions. Today, maybe, there are not hundreds of thousands taking part in this movement, but millions.

It is important that people's solidarity appears. They quickly find a common language, as it were, and work out a single position. I don't think there is any need to explain to you, the viewers, how important this is.

There is an important feature: the increased degree of organization in the current workers' movement on the scale of the region, and on the scale of the republic, and even on the scale of the whole country.

Another thing: the workers' movement today is not only a self-defense movement to protect their economic and political rights. The creative potential of the workers' movement is being revealed more and more. Quite a lot of untruths have sprung up around the strike, yet it is precisely the organized nature of the miners' workforces that has in fact made it possible to maintain the industry in working order up to today. This is very important also for the possibility of a speedy restoration of a normal working rhythm. During the time of the strike the creation of an autonomous system, independent of the ministry, for ensuring their survival has in effect been started for related industries, and it has been able to demonstrate its effectiveness. It is possible that this is in fact a prototype for self-management: we are looking for ways of doing this, and have not yet managed to find them in theory, yet in practice life prompts us to believe that this will probably be the best self-management system in the collective, or in some organization.

It is important that both the scope of the strikes in the country and the well-organized way in which they were held became one of the chief reasons the offensive by reactionary forces was broken. Precisely at the time when reactionary forces, right-wing forces, started to rise, at the same time, as a kind of counterbalance to them, this workers' movement started to rise. It largely determined the fact that the situation changed. The miners, workers, citizens of Russia, demonstrated that they are not going to go back.

[Morkovnikov] One of the main issues of concern to the miners was the joint statement of the president and leaders of the nine republics. Since it is not clear on certain points, apprehensions are being voiced that too many concessions have been made to the republics.

[Yeltsin] I am convinced that a great event has taken place. The meeting of the top leaders of the republics, of nine republics, and the president of the country, could mark the beginning of a real improvement of the internal political situation of the country—and of course of Russia, too—without which radical economic reform is impossible in any one of the republics or in the country. Personally I continue to believe that if mutual understanding is achieved with the Union leadership and with the leaderships of the union republics, if we all move in the same direction, the direction of radical reform, this will be the best road for the development of the Russian Federation—provided all sides adhere strictly to the undertakings they have given.

During the nine-and-a-half hours that the meeting lasted, we managed to make substantial progress in bringing closer the positions of the leaders of the republics and the leader of the center, the country's president. A compromise was reached which now makes it possible to carry out reform in conditions of agreement on the main questions rather than confrontation and show-down. To illustrate my point, I can tell you that after nine-and-a half hours only 20 percent remained of the original document that was proposed. Everything will be reworked, along the lines of the proposals made by the leaders of the republics. After that it was signed. What did we manage to agree on? It was recognized that the role of the republics in the Union had substantially changed. Today these are sovereign states which run their own policy. That was declared for the first time. Never before has the country's president accepted that formula. In other words, this is, in effect, recognition of the sovereignty of states, of these nine states. That was a concession.

We are all open to dialogue and ready to act jointly, but not [words indistinct] the vital interests of the republics. The failure to understand these basic factors [word indistinct] were the main focus of tension in relations between the center and the republics. Perhaps more especially with Russia, because Russia is bigger.

I am certain that if this had been recognized a year ago, we would not now have the profound crisis that presently exists. We have lost a lot of time precisely because they simply did not want to recognize that the center must shift toward the republics—or sovereign states—and that the center must hand over some of its powers and only take on those which the republic themselves voluntarily cede to it.

We also agreed that the new union must, in fact, be a union of sovereign states which have voluntarily formed a union. This is a very fundamental point, which has not been noted by everybody. The Union treaty is not to be foisted on the republics from above, but this process will take place from below. When we discussed this a year ago, we were unable to reach agreement. But when we signed this declaration, everybody agreed that we would make our proposals on the Union treaty, first of all in the form of proposals adopted by supreme soviets, and then in some kind of unifying document, especially as five republics, including ourselves, have achieved virtually 100 percent agreement. To be more precise, we agree on 99 percent of the treaty's text, the five republics that wanted to sign the treaty [word indistinct]: Russia, the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Belorussia, and Uzbekistan.

For the first time it was recognized that Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Moldova, Georgia, and Armenia must decide for themselves the question of joining the Union treaty, without any pressure—in other words, without the army. After all, there have been attempts to apply pressure on the Baltic republics and certain others. It was recognized that this is their business. They can decide it for themselves. This was also an admission.

At the same time the republics which signed the Union treaty get a most-favored status in relations between each other, first and foremost economic ones. Economic relations with republics which do not join the Union will be built on world prices, or on mutually agreed conditions. The meeting again admitted for the first time that the state and Union bodies need to be subjected to real change. The president had never admitted it, but here at this meeting he admitted that, yes, the Union bodies cannot exist in the form that they have today if we are to embark on a genuine political reform, an economic reform, to renew society, that in practice the administrative-command system is not being dismantled, although six years have already passed, and he said that after the signing of the Union treaty the adoption of a new Constitution would follow six months later, with the election of people's deputies, the election of Union bodies, and the complete reorganization—that's to say getting rid of that heavy crown of the administrative-command system that weighs down on everyone—and national elections for the new president of the country, if this is envisaged in the Constitution.

The question of how the country will implement the transition period, before the adoption of all these documents, that is, let's say, up to the end of the year, occupies a special place in the statement. This is a most complex time, especially taking into account the extremely deep crisis, immense social tension, and sharp fall in people's living standards.

The idea of a state of emergency, or of direct presidential rule, was categorically rejected by all the leaders of the nine republics. A state of emergency in current conditions would only sharply aggravate the situation, and would risk mass civil disobedience. Instead of order this would lead to chaos. To speak to the people from a position of strength is simply unacceptable today. This would simply be political madness.

At the same time, it is essential that joint anticrisis measures be carried through decisively. I want to stress

this: not ones that have been nurtured in union offices and foisted on the republics, but jointly agreed anticrisis measures. That's to say, each republic conducts its own economic policy. Russia now has an economic program.

Since our 500 days program was stopped, since the shock, which lasted about three months, we have nevertheless managed to elaborate a fairly acceptable program, and one which has taken many principles from the Shatalin-Yavlinskiy program. This program was proposed to the third congress of people's deputies, it was basically approved, and now at the Supreme Soviet session it will be finally confirmed and then it will appear in the press. We want all the republics to coordinate their economic actions as quickly as possible, to draw up common approaches, so that this inter-republican anticrisis program, as it were, can be put into effect. This program would provide for radical measures to heal the economy. But it would also indicate ways of correcting those flagrant mistakes committed by the Union Government, above all the price reform which has quite simply bankrupted the majority of Russian families. We agreed that the 5 percent sales tax on prime necessities must be rescinded in the very near future, and subsequently applied only to a narrow range of luxury goods.

The need to adopt measures within two weeks to compensate for price rises in school and student canteens, to lower the costs of railway transportation, and of road and air transportation, and other measures was admitted. Within a month a decision should be adopted on the indexation of incomes. This is what is being demanded by the working class and by the trades unions.

At the same time, I consider it unacceptable that part of the population, of the political parties, suddenly manifested great euphoria about the agreements that were reached, about the signing of the statement. It is really a declaration or a statement of intent, and not of the actions themselves, so of course the monitoring of how this statement is implemented, of how it is turned into specific steps to stabilize the economy and improve people's lives is a further step that will not be easier but will be more difficult.

I think that people are also interested in the question of the position of the president of the country during these talks, since not everything we agreed on was reflected in the joint statement.

I think the viewers in Russia are also interested in the question of the position of the president of the country during these talks, since not everything we agreed on was reflected in the joint statement.

I consider that in such conditions the great powers enjoyed by the president of the country should be used to implement the joint actions agreed between the republics. Here you may well want to ask me a question: how is one to understand the fact that I signed the statement of 23 April when shortly before, on 19 February, I had been talking of the president's resigning?

I consider that this is logical and, when I spoke about this to the miners, they accepted it with understanding. There was at that time great pressure from the rightwing forces, some of them had come out of their trenches, so to say, and they had started to drag the president of the country along behind them—I'd put it like that, and not the other way around. So this extreme, perhaps even harsh measure, which was chosen—my demand for the resignation of the president—is a sort of warning to him: if events develop in the future in the same way, if there is an attack from the right wing, then we in the republic will take affairs into our own hands.

After that things will happen, the workers' movement, the strike movement, will deploy. That's to say, the progressive forces will deploy. The president, too, has reconsidered a number of his positions during that time, since February and March. Taking all this into account, it was possible to gather this grouping together and sign such a statement. Only under these circumstances. I don't see anything illogical here, although the president was seriously criticized by practically every republican leader—and I didn't get away without being criticized either—and was quite severely criticized, and they said straight out that really this is your last chance. That's to say, if you carry out our coordinated agreements, then fine, let's act. But if you don't, then we shall make things happen our way.

People ask me: how can you trust him since you have already met togther, just you two, and unfortunately your agreements were not always implemented? Nevertheless, you must take the difference here into account, since there were just the two of us, and here we were 10, including nine top leaders of the republics. So now to refuse to carry out our mutual agreements somehow is quite impossible, I think.

Well, if he tries that, we also have our own alternative up our sleeve.

The statement includes many questions of basic importance on which agreement in principle was also reached.

A decision was reached to embark immediately on a mechanism to give a clear demarcation of functions and ownership between the republics and the center. Then, I have already said that the actual system of the Union treaty and the way it is concluded is, so to say, being turned on its head, or rather the other way round, being turned the right way up, since it is the Union republics which are to submit the draft treaties, and not what is now being foisted on us.

An accord on the currency. An accord on the gold reserves. An accord on what is for us extremely important. There is not one collective where this question is not being asked: an accord on transferring the general licensing for their products to the republics. Instead of having to go every time for each 1,000 cubic meters of timber or whatever to Pavlov's office. The Union bodies are here and for months to have to go and ask for something. Well, and a number of other agreements were

reached on a number of other matters, and I repeat that this is an agreement between the president of the country and the highest leaders—nine of the highest leaders—of the republics. This is very important.

[Morkovnikov] The joint statement of the Ten talks about a special work regime in the basic industries. What does that mean? Isn't the Russian leadership losing its common language with the work forces?

[Yeltsin] In the Kuzbass, there were many such questions. Well, that is quite understandable. The suggestion was even made there of not a special regime, but a state of emergency. Well, we opposed that, and this phrase, "special regime" appeared. But how do I, for example, understand this special regime? A special regime is a regime of most-favored status. It is first of all an incentive to work. It is the revision of various benefits, financing, taxes. They have priority, these industries, for deliveries of various components and materials. Only after that comes discipline, order. That's how I see it, and in view of the fact that we're reached agreement that this will be enshrined in a special decree and obligatorily agreed with each republic, we do have grounds to believe that without our endorsement he won't sign the decree. And we won't endorse it if it envisages any measures that are not supported by the working class and by the strike committees and collectives. Because if they don't sign it it'll again be just another sort of decree, that's all. It won't be fulfilled and nobody (? will pay any attention to it).

[Morkovnikov] During your trip to the Kuzbass, an agreement with the striking miners was achieved. What are the basics of this agreement? Will the miners end their strike after 1 May?

[Yeltsin] The basics consist in defining specific ways and mechanisms of transition, in the coal industry to begin with, into the jurisdiction of Russia. This was the most important point. The task was not to supply it with a new, Russian, boss. No. We want, so to speak, to skip over one bureaucratic step. From a bureaucratic subordination within the Union, straight into the jurisdiction of Russia, at the same time giving coal enterprises, essentially, a full independence.

This is a very great difference. This has been reflected in the instruction. And this is autonomy which includes a choice of form of property. They will decide for themselves. The RSFSR administrative body will only coordinate the work of each each enterprise, and help where help is needed. Their relations with state bodies of administration, as well as local government bodies, will be only fulfilled through economic levers. Through a precise system of taxes mainly, and nothing else. The enterprises of the coal industry will gain significant advantage [words indistinct] its production. I have already said that licensing will be transferred to Russia, and I think that for the first two year we shall be giving them hard currency (?growth) to the tune of 60-80 percent, to stand them on their feet.

This order could be extended to the enterprises in adjoining industries, including power engineering, transportation, construction, and so on.

The miners and I settled it in in the following way: on the basis of this order, an agreement should be signed between the Russian Council of Ministers and the Cabinet of Ministers of the Union.

Our business is to solve the issues that they set as conditions. We think that we have solved most of the issues. On some of them, there are still a few steps to be made. As to the way out of the strike—it is for them to decide. No pressure should be put on them, in any case.

[Morkovnikov] A campaign has started in Russia for the presidential election. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation has adopted the relevant laws. What does Boris Nikolayevich think about that?

[Yeltsin] I think that the question of a president for Russia is an urgent one. [words indistinct] sovereignty, and in general he will deal with all the problems of Russia with the exception of three question which we will hand over to the jurisdiction of the Union. Of course, to a large extent we cannot now implement our sovereignty preciely because we lack that form of administration. This is the opinion of most people in the RSFSR. I travel around Russia—I consider this to be essential. But the referendum showed this, too—70 percent favor a presidency. The process of nominating candidates is in full swing. To my knowledge seven candidates have been nominated, including me. I (? was informed) of this when I was in the Kuzbass. Political parties, the Democratic Party of Russia, the Social Democratic Party, the Democratic Movement of Russia, and a number of others have nominated candidates. This nomination process is under way now.

In this connection I would like to state three of my principles, so to speak. This first is that all candidates nominated have equal rights and equal duties during this period, in the election campaign, regardless of what post they occupy.

Second, each candidate in the election campaign has some rational core and interesting proposals. So it is important that whoever ends by being elected must take all these intelligent ideas into account in his work.

And the third principle is that the election campaign must show the best qualities of the candidates because I, for example, have been elected as people's deputy of the Union and of Russia, and the principle was this: However many alternative candidates there might be, never speak ill of rivals. Speak about your principles, that is the most important thing. And then the electors will have their say.

Yeltsin Welcomes Cooperation With Japan

LD0605142391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1347 GMT 6 May 91

[By TASS legislative correspondent Boris Zverev]

[Text] Moscow, 6 May (TASS)—Boris Yeltsin, head of the Russian Federation parliament, said here today that the Russian leadership is willing to cooperate directly with Japan. He met with a delegation of Japan's Liberal Democratic Party led by Mitio Watanabe, chairman of the party's political council and member of the Japanese parliament's House of Representatives.

Boris Yeltsin spoke in favor of strengthening links between Russia and Japan. The more so since, as he said, the joint statement of the leaders of the nine sovereign republics and USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev has confirmed the right of each republic to its own independent domestic and foreign policy. At the same time, he stressed that "we are not undermining our relations with the Union, since we are, and shall remain, within the Union."

The Russian leader noted that whereas in global cooperation and on the global strategic level relations are built between Japan and the Union leadership, on all specific matters—of politics, economics, trade, and culture—"we can have direct relations without offending the Union leadership."

Boris Yeltsin noted the critical nature of the situation in which Russia finds itself. He said that "the cataclysms which could happen here will affect any country of the world," and put forward the idea that the entire international community should act together "to help Russia and the country as a whole to get out of this situation".

Answering journalists' questions at the end of his meeting with the delegation of the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan, Boris Yeltsin said that at their meeting they had talked basically about how, before signing a peace treaty between Japan and the Union as a whole, they "should not neglect to conclude various treaties directly between Russia and Japan, when the question of the Northern Territories is not a condition."

According to Boris Yeltsin, the two sides agreed that when the new Union treaty has been signed, with a demarcation of the functions of the republics and center, "we shall move on to direct contacts." But at the moment it is essential not to waste time in preparing the areas in which such agreements could be made, the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] leader said.

Boris Yeltsin again came out in favor of solving the country's economic problems with the help of the world community. For this, he believes, experts from foreign countries, for example the "Group of Seven," and specialists from the USSR and Russia could work out jointly a program to get the country out of the crisis. Answering a question about the possibility of Japan offering credits to Russia, he said: "I did not raise the question specifically of credits, but raised the question of developing our relations. These questions, too, will be included in that."

Boris Yeltsin stated that having signed the joint declaration, the leaders of the nine republics and the president of the USSR agreed on pressing ahead with the demarcation of functions between the center and the republics. He stated that a document transferring the coal industry to the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation had already been signed, that a document transferring to Russia the timber and timber processing industry had been prepared, and that a protocol setting up the KGB of the RSFSR had been signed. "This process will now get under way," he said.

Speaking of the relations between him and Mikhail Gorbachev, Boris Yeltsin stressed that now "the relations between the two leaders have turned into relations among 10 leaders, and this gives more guarantees than tete a tete talks."

Yeltsin Instruction on Enterprise Jurisdiction

PM0405134591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 May 91 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "On the Transfer of Basic Industries to RSFSR Jurisdiction"]

[Text] B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, has signed instructions "On Changing the Management Conditions of Enterprises in the Coal and Other Basic Industries on RSFSR Territory."

The document lays down, in particular, that the transfer of enterprises in the coal and other basic industries to the jurisdiction of RSFSR state administration bodies by decision of their labor collectives means that they are granted full economic independence, including in the choice of forms of ownership and economic management, in accordance with legislation operating on RSFSR territory.

In the process of the transfer of enterprises in the coal and other basic industries to the jurisdiction of RSFSR state administration bodies the RSFSR Council of Ministers is instructed to form republic administrative structures for the sole purpose of coordinating these enterprises' work and ensuring their viability.

The instructions also point out that for the duration of the stabilization of the RSFSR economy it is deemed expedient in the process of the transfer of enterprises in the coal and other basic industries to the jurisdiction of RSFSR state administration bodies to create mixed economically independent intersector structures capable of ensuring operations in the conditions of market relations and to grant them the right of independence in creating a network of small enterprises with different forms of management.

The instructions come into force as of 1 May 1991.

B.N. Yeltsin has appealed to all coal industry enterprises to join actively in work to implement these instructions, promote the implementation of radical economic reform, and adopt all necessary measures to stabilize Russia's economy as a guarantee of its sovereignty.

Russian Resolution on Presidential Election

91UN1402B Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Apr 91 First Edition p 2

[Decree of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet "On Organizational Measures for Conducting Elections of RSFSR President on 12 June 1991"]

[Text] In keeping with the decree of the Third (Extraordinary) RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Congress of People's Deputies of 5 April 1991, "On Redistribution of the Authority Between RSFSR Higher State Organs for Implementation of Anticrisis Measures and Fulfillment of Decisions of Congresses of People's Deputies," elections of the RSFSR president are scheduled for 12 June 1991. In order to prepare for the elections promptly and conduct them in an organized way, the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet **decrees:**

1. To assign the task of preparing for and conducting the elections for RSFSR president to the Central Election Commission for Elections of RSFSR People's Deputies.

To recommend that registered republic (RSFSR) political parties, trade unions, and mass sociopolitical movements each assign one representative to participate in the work of the Central Election Commission and provide assistance in organizing the election campaign.

2. The RSFSR Council of Ministers, at the suggestion of the Central Election Commission for Elections of RSFSR People's Deputies, is to allot the financial funds necessary to conduct elections for RSFSR president and, before 30 April 1991, to take measures for material-technical and organizational support for the elections.

To permit the Central Election Commission to make expenditures to prepare for the elections before regular financing is started.

3. To delegate the authority of the district commissions for electing the RSFSR president to the central election commissions for elections of people's deputies of the republics included in the RSFSR, the kray, oblast, and autonomous oblast commissions, and the okrug (autonomous okrug) commissions, as well as the Moscow and Leningrad city election commissions for election of people's deputies of these soviets of people's deputies.

The highest organs of state power of the republics included in the RSFSR, of the kray, oblast, and autonomous oblasts, the autonomous okrugs, and the Moscow and Leningrad city soviets of people's deputies or their presidiums must, before 1 May 1991, resolve problems of supporting the activity of the district commissions for elections of the RSFSR president.

4. To permit the district commissions for electing the RSFSR president to enlist for conducting the elections of the RSFSR president the rayon, city, and rayon-in-city election commissions for elections of people's deputies of these soviets and to grant them the necessary authority.

To recommend to local branches of political parties, trade unions, and mass sociopolitical movements registered in the RSFSR the assigning of representatives to attend meetings of district, rayon, city, rayon-in-city, and precinct election commissions and also when the voting is being conducted and the votes are being counted.

5. Okrug (autonomous okrug without rayon division), rayon, city, and rayon-in-city soviets of people's deputies or their presidiums are to form precinct commissions for elections of the RSFSR president before 10 May 1991, using, as a rule, the precincts formed for conducting the RSFSR referendum of 17 March 1991.

The Central Election Commission for Elections of RSFSR People's Deputies is to check to make sure that the precinct commissions are formed promptly.

[Signed] Chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet B.N. Yeltsin
Moscow, RSFSR House of Soviets, 19 April 1991

Draft Law on Presidential Post Adopted

LD0605175791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1630 GMT 6 May 91

[Text] A republican draft law on amendments and addenda to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Constitution in connection with instituting the post of RSFSR president was among the main issues on the agenda of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet session. The draft was adopted as a basis. It was decided to examine it in the constitutional commission and then to approve it at the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies due to take place on 21 May. An RSFSR law on the constitutional court was adopted as a whole. An RSFSR draft law on recalling people's deputies was examined in outline.

Ryzhkov Briefs Press on Election Campaign

LD0705083991 Moscow TASS in English 0813 GMT 7 May 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandras Budris]

[Text] Moscow May 7 TASS—Soviet ex-Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov's goal is "to work to ensure that the requirements of people—workers, farmers and intellectuals—are satisfied to the maximum." Several Russian enterprises and public organisations nominated Ryzhkov for the post of president of the Republic.

Ryzhkov spoke at a briefing here for Soviet and foreign journalists, launching his election campaign. Asked what

prompted him to run for president of the largest Soviet republic, Ryzhkov said: "The situation in the country is such today that as a citizen I regard it as inadmissible to stand on the sidelines."

According to Ryzhkov, his election platform will be largely based on the provisions of the programme that was elaborated in May-June, 1990 and named the governmental programme. Ryzhkov noted, however, that he thoroughly studied other economic programmes that were published.

Ryzhkov said he had his own stance on many laws which are being adopted by the Russian parliament, specifically the laws on land reform, the increase in prices and privatisation which, he noted, did not coincide with the position of the Russian parliament.

He said he disagreed with the agreement to switch the coal industry on Russian territory to Russia's jurisdiction, which was signed on Monday. Ryzhkov thinks that these issues should be solved within the framework of the future Union treaty.

Simultaneously, Ryzhkov expressed his positive attitude to the recent statement by the leaders of nine republics and the Soviet president, describing it as "the light at the end of a tunnel" and called for implementing it as soon as possible.

Journalists were told at the briefing that Ryzhkov plans to tour several Russian cities and speak to residents. Ryzhkov said he would soon announce the name of his candidate for vice-president of the republic.

RSFSR Election Campaign Explained

LD0605181391 Moscow All-union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0638 GMT 6 May 91

[Text] Today there will be a joint session of the chambers of the Russian legislature. It will discuss a number of bills connected with the establishment of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] presidency. Here is our special correspondent, Vladimir Korablev, to talk in more detail about the agenda of today's session of the Russian legislature. He is now at the legislature building on Krasnopresnya Embankment. Over to you.

[Korablev] At this moment the members of the Russian legislature, who have returned from the May holidays, are gathering here in the RSFSR legislature building on Krasnopresnya Embankment. There are several questions on the agenda of today's joint meeting of the Soviet of the Republic and the Soviet of Nationalities. The first of these is the draft RSFSR law on amendments and additions to the RSFSR Constitution in connection with the establishment of the presidency of the Russian Federation. Two other bills which the deputies will discuss are the RSFSR Law on the Constitutional Court and the draft RSFSR law on the recall of an RSFSR people's deputy.

Well, I want to return to the first bill connected with the establishment of the RSFSR presidency. Only just over a month remains to the date when we will elect the first president of Russia. So, the first stage of the election campaign is now in full swing. According to the decision of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the preparation and conduct of the Russian presidential election is the responsibility of the central commission in charge of the election of RSFSR people's deputies. I invited the chairman of this commission, USSR People's Deputy Vasiliy Ivanovich Kazakov, to take part in this live broadcast. Vasiliy Ivanovich, we already know from the press that quite a large number of candidates have been nominated for the post of president of the Russian Federation. How many of them have registered with your election commission?

[Kazakov] Well so far—and we have already held one meeting of the commission—not one single candidate has registered with us and, contrary to our expectations, we have not yet received a single application for registration.

[Korablev] Why is that?

[Kazakov] Despite what I have heard people surmising, our commission has not received any other documents either, lists of signatures in support of candidates, for example. We have not yet received a single list or application. This is because the procedures that have to be gone through are quite complex. According to the rules, there has to be a nomination protocol in the first place. The candidate has to formally agree to his nomination. He has to submit his biographical details. He has to choose his candidate for vice president, and obtain a corresponding document from him, and also from election agents. Obviously all this takes time. Therefore, we have tentatively arranged a meeting of the commission for 12 May, the first one at which registrations will be accepted. There may be some applications by then. But so far we have had none.

[Korablev] Vasiliy Ivanovich, at the first stage there may be a large number of candidates for president. But at the second stage, when there should only be two or three candidates remaining—and this will be determined at the Congress of People's Deputies—this is when the real struggle between the candidates for the presidency will probably start.

[Kazakov] Evidently that is the case. There are two channels through which candidates may be nominated for the presidency. Some candidates, who receive the support of 100,000 voters, will be directly included on voting slips. Candidates from organizations, from public organizations, from parties that do not manage to gather this support, will be examined at the congress and they will be included on the voting slips only if they obtain the support of 20 percent of all deputies. Election meetings themselves and the election campaign proper will begin from the moment of registration and continue until 11 June.

[Korablev] Vitaliy Ivanovich, every election campaign requires a certain amount of funding. How much will the election of the republic's first president cost Russia?

[Kazakov] On 27 April the presidium of the Supreme Soviet endorsed an estimate of 155 million rubles [R], to which the Council of Ministers and the Ministry of Finance are now putting the finishing touches. These funds will then be dispatched to the various local areas, in accordance with a spending breakdown issued by us. This money will be used to pay the wages of members of election commissions, once they have completed their duties, and to cover outlays on paper and the printing of voting slips and forms. Furthermore, for the first time the Central Election Commission will have an account to which individual collectives, citizens, associations, and parties can contribute funds. We will collect this money and then share it out equally among the remaining candidates, to fund the publication of their programs in the central press and, maybe, the issuing of election posters. But so far we have not received any such funds. When we receive them, we will decide what to do with them.

[Korablev] Have this fund for the election of the president and the account to be held by your Central Election Commission been opened, because the R150 million, which you mentioned, will not be enough for the election campaign, or is this not the case?

[Kazakov] No, I think it should be enough. It is simply an attempt, for the first time, to attract funds from interested quarters, in other words organizations, parties, and associations.

[Korablev] [words indistinct] the Russian Federation?

[Kazakov] Yes, we plan to hold the next meeting on 12 May. The deadline for the nomination of candidates is 18 May. So the most intensive work will be done between those two dates.

[Korablev] Let me thank you very much one again, Vasiliy Ivanovich. Here I end my report from the Russian legislature building on the Krasnopresnya Embankment.

Russia Adopts Decision on Electorates Meetings

LD0605174891 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 6 May 91

[Text] The Presidium of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet has adopted a decision on procedures for holding meetings with electorates and for collecting signatures in support of candidates for the post of president of the republic. The presidential elections are set for 12 June. Various parties and public movements have already named their candidates for this supreme state post. The Democratic Russia Movement, the Social Democratic Party of Russia, the Moscow electorate, and Kuzbass miners nominated Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. Bakatin, member of the USSR Security Council, and Ryzhkov, former head of the Union Government, are named among his possible rivals.

Poll Taken on Presidential 'Candidates'

91UN1365C Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 23 Apr 91 p 1

[Article by Viktor Yurlov: "A Time To Live and a Time To Choose"]

[Excerpt] Mytishi—

Who Will Be President of the Republic?

There is no doubt that Russia will become a "presidential" republic. The Third Extraordinary RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Congress of People's Deputies unequivocally confirmed this. Nor are there any large disputes concerning the candidates to be the future president. In any case, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin who is actually engaged in the battle (with a series of "loud" speeches he is likely to manage to raise his political rating which had begun to decline a bit) has a clear advantage over all the rest.

But who can oppose him? For some reason the timid "center" cannot organize itself to put forth a candidate and the RSFSR Communist Party, having had no time to gain strength since its birth, is being sucked into the vortex of the factional struggle, which can hardly contribute to success either.

Such was the course of the discussion in the association party committee where I circulated a RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA questionnaire among the plant's workers. With the help of its staff correspondents, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA distributed these questionnaires at many enterprises of Russia. I took some of them. I recall that the question on the questionnaire was worded as follows:

Which of the candidates listed below do you prefer as a possible president of Russia and as a politician capable of bringing the republic out of the crisis and justifying the hopes of the Russians?

We handed out 270 questionnaires. Here is how the responses look:

Abalkin, L.I.	5
Alekseyev, S.S.	7
Baburin, S.N.	5
Bakatin, V.V.	20
Belov, V.I.	0
Bocharov, M.A.	1
Gromov, B.V.	10
Goryacheva, S.P.	10
Yeltsin, B.I.	103
Kravchenko, I.P.	0
Rasputin, V.G.	3

Rutskoy, A.V.	1
Ryzhkov, N.I.	20
Silayev, I.S.	9
Sobchak, A.A.	14
Stankevich, S.B.	6
Starovoytova, G.V.	3
Starodubtsev, D.A.	6
Travkin, N.I.	3
Kurultinov, D.N.	0
Petrakov, N.Ya.	1
Popov, G.Kh.	2
Fedorov, V.P.	1
Yakovlev A.N.	5
Yanayev, G.I.	6
"Write-ins":	
Yavlinskiy	2
Gulko (plant director)	2

The results seem to speak eloquently. I asked many workers whom they had chosen and why. Every second or third one preferred Yeltsin. But here is the curious thing: To the question "why?" approximately half of the people with whom I spoke responded that they simply did not know many of the other "candidates." Even their last names.

It is difficult, of course, to figure out which of the other "candidates" could get a serious campaign going in the short time that is left. But a fact remains a fact: The workers of the association do not see any brilliant political leaders. Although behind almost every one of the proposed names there is an extremely bright individual.

But a poll is a poll. We will repeat it at the beginning of the election campaign.

Rutskoy Russian Presidential Prospects Eyed

91UN1365A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 20 Apr 91 p 1

[Article by observer Aleksandr Tayurskiy: "Who Are the Competitors? The Surprise of the Third Force"]

[Text] *The draft law on the election of the president of Russia evoked similar assessments from people with differing political views.*

In the press we have not yet heard the voices in defense, for example, of the fine filter through which Russian legislators intend to put the candidates by suggesting that each of them gain the support of 355 deputies. There are also serious reproaches regarding the short-lived nature of the presidential campaign. This aspect of it reminds one of the election of a captain on a sinking ship.

It is gratifying that certain of the creators of the proposed filter understand its undemocratic nature. According to the authoritative witness of NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, which is gaining an ever larger circulation, a member of the Russian constitutional committee, V. Sheynis, "does not consider this norm democratic." There is no denying it, this is painfully similar to something from the recent past. Do you remember?

In one way or another, all discussions, like the draft law itself, take place within the space of right-left opposition. The Yeltsin bloc against the Communists of Russia. There is nothing more to it.

But is there a third force? Rather, might one appear to the people, who have had the wool pulled over their eyes for the past 500 days as a result of political battles?

It would seem that one has made itself known and even put forth a leader. I am speaking about the most unexpected thing from the recent Russian congress—the crystallization of the parliamentary group Communists for Democracy and the rapid development of this movement and its leader—the people's deputy from Russia, A. Rutskoy.

Aleksandr Rutskoy has potential grounds for making a serious claim to the highest Russian post. He is the leader of a large parliamentary faction. This person, who has a great deal of experience in life, has looked death in the face more than once. He is an expert in modern military problems and army life, which is far from being a matter of indifference to Russia. During the past year, and especially at the extraordinary congress, he proved himself to be a politician who is very sensitive to the situation. The very fact that he managed to form a faction of almost 100 deputies in a parliament that was already formed is impressive. He had a precise sense of something else as well: the situation in the party, which has changed in the past four months, and the dissatisfaction of a broad segment of party members with the inconsistency of the renewal and the loss of the reform wing's leading role.

True, program planks of the new movement are not fleshed out, there is much that is eclectic in them, and there is a lot of unnecessary combativeness and many short-term issues. But this is natural. Another thing is also important: We undoubtedly have before us not a movement of former party history instructors whose tongues are worn out from talking and who have become revolting even to themselves, as was the case with the Democratic Platform. This is a serious attempt to return really advanced and progressive democratic positions to the modern generation of communists who came to an awareness of the need for renewal and managed to initiate perestroyka.

Rutskoy is supported by more than just a large number of communists. A considerable number of young people

and also yesterday's "Afgantsy" [Afghan veterans] comprise the skeleton of the preelection aktiv. He is supported by the army community. The majority of women vote for him (I shall not bother to prove this, take my word for it).

It would seem that political logic and the force of circumstances lead to the idea that it would be expedient for Rutskoy to become a candidate in the present elections. If not to win, then at least to participate.

Of course, Rutskoy will not be nominated by the leading structures of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party, although he is a member of its Central Committee. But he could quite possibly be nominated by one of the large Russian social organizations, for example, the committee of veterans of war and labor—A. Rutskoy's military past gives him a legitimate place here.

The present Russian situation is a drama in which the signs of tragedy are becoming increasingly clear. It cannot be ruled out that tomorrow disintegration and death itself could look Russia in the face. Therefore, it needs a president who can stare them down, and Aleksandr Rutskiy [as published] is this person.

Tatarstan Demands Control Over Resources

914A0666A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Apr 91 Union Edition p 4

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Sabirov: "'Druzhba' Under Siege"]

[Text] Almetyevsk—The head pumping station of the "Druzhba" pipeline was surrounded by demonstrators.

Rallies attended by a multitude of people were held in the squares of Almetyevsk. Participants in the rallies demanded that natural resources be immediately transferred to the jurisdiction of Tatarstan. This had to do primarily with oil; 2.5 billion tons of it have been produced by the oil fields of the republic. This enormous wealth has not benefitted the people; instead, it has turned producing regions into an ecological disaster zone. The people at the rallies were outraged because 1 million tons of oil designated to Tatarstan in the first half of this year still had not been sold.

The participants in the rallies headed to the zero kilometer point of the "Druzhba." Here, at the border of a guarded compound, the demonstrators encountered the appropriately equipped militia. Passions were inflamed, and stones were thrown at the guards. Batons were used on two persons who managed to scale the fence of the guarded installation. I. Guryanov, Tatar SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] deputy minister of internal affairs, communicated the following to our correspondent: "Nobody has been apprehended. However, criminal proceedings have been instituted in conjunction with a violation of public order."

General Director of the Tatneft [Oil Industry Production Association of the Tatar SSR] R. Galeyev said: "I believe that the commotion of rallies was unnecessary, all the more so because the populace had been extensively notified through the mass media about the procedures and schedule for the sale of the 1 million tons of oil."

Western Republics

Donetsk Coal Mines Reportedly At Work

LD0505031391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 4 May 91

[Interview with Yu. L. Makarov, co-chairman of the Donetsk strike committee by correspondent Kondaurov; place and date not given; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] We will start the broadcast with news from mining regions. By a twist of fate, during these festive days, when we have all been actively resting for a lengthy period, the miners of the Donetsk Basin have finally started work after a two-month strike. Today the overwhelming majority of the Ukraine's coal enterprises are producing fuel. Actually, only three collieries are at a standstill, and indeed those will set about work just as soon they settle certain questions with management. This news is clouded only by the fact that during the time of the strike more than six million tonnes of coal were lost.

[Begin recording] [Kondaurov] Work in the mines is being carried out in an organized manner. As a rule, a full complement of people arrives for each shift. Frequently an increased work order is taken for coal mining, if the technical state of the [coal] faces allows. Unfortunately, certain faces after two months of downtime have gotten into an inoperative state, and several days will be necessary to restore them.

The mines of the Krasnoarmeyskugol association, producing high-grade coking coal, are already close to delivering it in full volume to the metallurgists of the Donetsk and Dnepropetrovsk oblast. The government has charged the banks to issue the collieries with favorable credits. The collieries that are in a good financial state are also helping. Everything the miners should now receive is laid in the price of a tonne of fuel itself.

[Makarov] We realize, of course, that the greatest damage has been inflicted on the miners. The miners will get out of this situation, and the mines will work. It is all a question, as always, of what they will receive for their labor.

[Kondaurov] Many miners are satisfied with the agreement signed with the legislature and government of the Ukraine. Now it is all a question of how those who signed it will fulfill it. [end recording]

Central Committee Member Ligachev Tours Donetsk

LD0705055891 Moscow World Service in English 2000 GMT 6 May 91

[Text] A member of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee, Mr. Yegor Ligachev, who also holds a seat in central parliament, is on a lecturing tour of Donetsk district in the Ukraine. The fees will be donated to the fund designed to raise money for putting up a memorial to the mine accident victims. The idea was put forth by a public group, Revival. Mr. Ligachev told reporters he was hoping that the local miners who had called for a general strike might call the nation back to work, and unity of all forces, in an effort to salvage the country. [sentence as heard]

Meets With Miners in Donbass

LD0705074591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1522 GMT 6 May 91

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Sergey Savchenko]

[Text] Donetsk, 6 May (TASS)—"I have attentively followed the miners' strike and support many of their demands; however, I myself consider strikes an extreme measure," USSR People's Deputy Yegor Ligachev, who arrived here at the invitation of the "Vozvrashcheniye" literary club to address enterprises and works' clubs, expressed such a point of view to strikers at a spring address to mining workers in the Donbass [southeast Ukraine].

The stages in his life, his work in the Kremlin, the sources of the party's failures today, appraisals of Soviet political leaders, forecasts of the country's future—this is the basic range of topics in the addresses by the former member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee. Workers, retirees, party aktiv—he does not shun any auditorium. The prices of tickets to these addresses are quite high. Yegor Ligachev has stated that he intends to transfer the money earned during the five days of his trip to the region to the construction of a monument to miners who have been killed.

Ligachev's Lecture Tour Reported

PM0705123391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 May 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by Nikolay Lisovenko: "Ye. Ligachev's Lectures and Reminiscences"]

[Text] Donetsk—USSR Supreme Soviet Deputy Ye. Ligachev, member of the CPSU Central Committee, is in Donetsk Oblast at the invitation of the "Vozrozhdeniye" society and is carrying out a charity mission.

The "Vozrozhdeniye" society came out with the initiative to erect a monument to dead miners in the Donbass. The inexorable statistics attests that there is one miner killed for every million tonnes of coal mined. Society has paid this grievous price for many decades. In the Donbass there are many monuments to mark the region's combat and labor past, but, alas, so far there is no monument to the dead miners.

Ye. Ligachev responded to the "Vozrozhdeniye" society's invitation to deliver a cycle of lectures and reminiscences and to hand over the entire proceeds from them to the fund to create this monument. On 5 May the former CPSU Central Committee general secretary met with the miners of the "Komsomolets Donbassa" mine and on 6 May he had several meetings with rural workers and then addressed the coal miners of Selidovo.

"I very much hope," Ye. Ligachev said in a talk with your IZVESTIYA correspondent, "that the Donbass miners, who once urged society to strike, will soon call it back to work and to the pooling of all efforts to save our fatherland."

All the meetings are being held to large crowds and with a high degree of activity on the part of the audience.

Belorussian CP Conducts Poll on Current Issues

PM0705104991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 May 91 First Edition p 2

[Correspondent O. Stepanenko report: "Something to Think About"]

[Text] Minsk, 6 May—The Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Sector for the Study of Public Opinion has conducted another poll among the population in the republic. It ascertained attitudes to events of concern to everyone today. More than 88 percent of those polled condemned the price reform in its present form, and just 5.3 percent supported it. There has been a substantial drop in faith in the market as a means out of the economic crisis and a means of raising living standards. Precisely 39.3 percent of workers, peasants, engineering and technical personnel, employees, pensioners, students, and those in further education expressed a negative attitude to it, while 37.8 percent expressed a positive one.

Asked about their attitude toward strikes as a means of resolving the current problems, 63.1 percent of respondents replied: Negative. Only one-third of those polled advocated the resignation of the Belorussian Government, the dissolution of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, and early elections to the republic legislature. Still fewer—30.6 percent—advocated the nationalization of the property of public organizations, and 35 percent advocated placing party committees outside the existing production structures. Many peasants condemned the strike committees' scornful attitude to the needs of the countryside: "What will happen if we strike? Why have the Minsk strike committees not raised the questions of lowering the prices of tractors, motor vehicles, construction materials, and agricultural equipment, which the people of Minsk produce for us?"

Some of the leaders of the Belorussian People's Front and the Workers Union declare that the strike committees' political demands are supported by the entire population of Belorussia. As we see, the figures refute this.

Asked to indicate specific measures needed to stabilize the situation in Belorussia, many replied: The problems should be resolved only by constitutional means.

Belorussia's Kebich 'Hopeful' About Union Treaty

91P50170A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 30 Apr 91 p 1

[Statement by Vyacheslav Kebich, chairman of the Belorussian Council of Ministers: "The Door Is Still Open"]

[Text] My signature is affixed to the joint statement signed by the leaders of nine republics and the USSR President. This document is historical in nature if, of course, everything set forth in it is fulfilled.

I say "if" cautiously not because of a lack of optimism. On the contrary, with this document we in Belorussia pin great hopes on the successful stabilization of the situation in the country. One of its most important goals is the establishment and strengthening of our economic ties, including direct ties between republics. We have already signed an economic agreement, but it has not achieved its purpose. In trying to protect the consumer market each republic erected its own barriers and banned the export of products. We, too, were forced to adopt such measures even though they were assuredly nonsensical. That is why we have reaffirmed that the economic agreement must take force.

I will point out one more extremely important point recognized by all: whether it is a new or renewed Union, it will be a Union of sovereign states. This is not just a phrase, but the recognition of political reality. Participants at the meeting hold themselves accountable for the fact that all efforts to stabilize the situation and to overcome the crisis in the country will remain unsuccessful unless the role of the union republics is not fundamentally raised. Several drafts were ripped up so that we could finally come to a mutual understanding on this difficult question. In essence, this recognizes the sovereignty of each union republic. It gives us hope that the signatures of two leaders who could not find a common language before—USSR President M. Gorbachev and Chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet B. Yeltsin—are affixed to the bottom of the document.

Finally, we have determined that nine republics will make up the renewed union. However, we are keeping the door open for those who would like to reunite sooner or later.

Caucasus

Situation in South Ossetia 'Remains Tense'

LD0605204891 Moscow TASS in English 2018 GMT 6 May 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz May 6 TASS—The situation remains tense in South Ossetia, a spokesman for the extraordinary committee of North Ossetia's parliament told TASS.

A landslide buried the village of Likheti in Onsk district.

Rescuers from Russia, Armenia, the Ukraine, Uzbekistan, France, Austria and Germany are working in the disaster area.

Georgian railways resumed work on Monday but only trains with humanitarian aid are let out of the republic.

Despite the disaster in South Ossetia, Georgian extremists continue to fire at outskirts of Tskhinvali and conduct punitive operations in remote Ossetian villages.

A total of 15 people have been wounded in Tskhinvali, Znauri and Leninogorsk districts over the past two days, the North Ossetian Interior Ministry reports.

On Monday, servicemen escorted two convoys of trucks with foodstuffs, medicines and fuel to Dzhava and Tskhinvali.

Residents of Tskhinvali and refugees took to streets on Monday in protest against the Georgian parliament's decision to abolish Znauri and Tskhinvali districts in South Ossetia.

A session of the regional council held prior to the rally abolished South Ossetian democratic republic proclaimed last September and restored South Ossetian autonomous region.

Area 'Exacerbated' by Clashes

LD0505195991 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1900 GMT 5 May 91

[Text] In spite of the natural disaster that struck South Ossetia, the Georgian side has not stopped attacks on individual villages in the oblast. According to the information of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of North Ossetia, 10 civilians were seriously injured during an armed clash in the village of Khetagurovo in Tskhinvalskiy Rayon. Seven people of Ossetian nationality were killed as a result of an exchange of fire in the settlement of Tsinagari.

The situation in the oblast has also been exacerbated as a result of the fact that the Georgian Supreme Soviet has abolished two rayons in South Ossetia—Znaurskiy and Tskhinvalskiy. The Ossetian side is firmly opposed to this.

A session of the South Ossetian Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies was held in Tskhinvali. In executing the decree by the USSR president of 7 January 1991, the deputies

voted in favor of repealing the decision on declaring the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast the South Ossetian Democratic Republic, passed on 20 September 1990. The session elected Gasiyev, first secretary of the South Ossetian Oblast Committee of the CPSU, to the post of chairman of the oblast soviet.

Arrested Officer Detonates Grenade in Tbilisi

LD0505152391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1424 GMT 5 May 91

[Text] Moscow, 5 May (TASS)—Militiamen from the railway militia department detained Captain K. Semchenkov, deputy head of the ammunition supply section of an airborne unit, on Saturday at the Tbilisi Passazhirskaya train station. Semchenkov, who was wearing civilian clothes, was brought into the office of the railroad militia duty officer. While his personal belongings were being searched, Semchenkov detonated a grenade he had in his pocket. As a result of the explosion, he died and some militia men were injured, three of whom are hospitalized. Grenades, grenade fuses, as well as machinegun rounds were found in Semchenkov's rucksack. The military procuracy of the Tbilisi garrison, together with the republic's Internal Ministry bodies and the republic's procuracy, have begun an investigation. According to one report, Semchenkov had stolen the ammunition to hand it over to members of an illegal extremist group operating on Transcaucasian territory.

Georgian Decree on Consumer Goods Regulation

AU0605124791 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZYIA in Russian 23 Apr 91 p 1

[Decree signed by Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia in Tbilisi on 20 April: "Decree of the President of the Republic of Georgia on the Regulation of Prices on Consumer Goods in the Republic"]

[Text] The increase in retail prices on consumer goods imposed as a result of the decisions of the USSR president and the USSR Cabinet of Ministers has aroused justifiable indignation on the part of the population of the Republic of Georgia. The situation is being further aggravated by the fact that, as a result of enterprises (producers) and trade organizations having been granted the right to establish contract (free) prices on certain essential goods, processes of price formation have, for all intents and purposes, become unmanageable and unscrupulous persons are now able to use the situation that has been created to further their own selfish aims.

To establish proper order in the matter of the formation of prices on essential goods:

1. Single fixed state retail prices on essential goods must be established for all trade and public catering enterprises belonging to state and consumer cooperatives situated on the territory of the Republic of Georgia.

2. The Ministry of the Economy of the Republic of Georgia together with the republic's Ministry of Trade, the management board of the Tsekavshiri [the Central Union of Cooperative Societies of Georgia], ministries and departments, and enterprises and organizations in the republic must establish, in the shortest possible time, fixed state retail prices on essential goods that, to a significant degree, determine the people's standard of living.

3. The Ministry of Trade of the Republic of Georgia and the management board of the Tsekavshiri, and other ministries and departments that have a trade network must ensure that retail prices (price list) are put on public display in retail trade and public catering enterprises.

4. All agricultural, industrial, and trade and public catering enterprises and organizations that belong to state and consumer cooperatives are forbidden to establish contract (free) prices without the agreement of the Ministry of the Economy of the Republic of Georgia.

5. The 5 percent sales' tax is to be abolished on essential goods manufactured in Georgia and marketed on the territory of the republic and on journals and newspapers, and certain types of services including taxi travel.

6. The Ministry of Finances of the Republic of Georgia is to be entrusted with establishing strict control over the full observance of state discipline in the sphere of prices.

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia
Tbilisi, 20 April 1991

A list of Those Types of Goods on Which Single State Fixed Prices Instead of Contract (Free) Prices Have Been Established: 1. Non-alcoholic drinks and mineral waters; 2. Confectionary products; 3. Fish and fish products; 4. Sweetened bread and white flour products, rusks; 5. Ice cream; 6. Flour for pancakes and fritters; 7. All types of salamis and ham.

Troops Occupy Armenian Nuclear Power Station

LD0605204491 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 6 May 91

[Text] We have received this report from our correspondent in Yerevan, Koryun Khumaryan. With reference to the news center of the Armenian Ministry of Internal Affairs, he reported that by 1400 today two platoons of airborne assault troopers had entered the territory of the nuclear power station and occupied the reactor hall there.

We would like to remind you that in answering a question about the situation at the nuclear power station in an interview with IZVESTIYA, Colonel General Shatalin, commander of the Internal Troops of the USSR Interior Ministry, stated: "My people are guarding this station. When the KGB informed me that an attack on it was being planned, I phoned the permanent representative's office. As the leadership of Armenia refused to talk to me, I said that I would not allow jokes to be played with such a thing as the station."

On 4 May, military helicopters with airborne assault troops on board landed at the Yerevan airport of Erebuni. According to the information received from the command of the Yerevan garrison, additional forces will be used to strengthen the protection of the facilities of the USSR Ministry of Defense in Armenia. The republic's government, according to the command, was informed about this transfer of airborne assault troops.

Increased Security Cited

AU0605161191 Paris AFP in English 1542 GMT 6 Apr 91

[Text] Moscow, May 6 (AFP)—Dozens of people were killed on Monday when Soviet soldiers attacked the Armenian village of Voskepar near the border with Azerbaijan, the Armenian president said. [passage omitted]

Earlier the official Armenian news agency ARMENPRESS said one Armenian was killed and 24 Armenian policemen taken prisoner when paratroopers and Interior Ministry forces backed by four helicopters went into the village of Voskepar, near the Azeri border.

Meanwhile some 200 Soviet paratroopers seized control of the Armenian republic's sole nuclear plant, at Mesoamor [spelling as received], near the capital Yerevan, ARMENPRESS told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE.

The Soviet Interior and Defense Ministries announced Saturday that security at sensitive facilities in the republic was being boosted amid escalating ethnic conflict.

Early Monday about 1,000 paratroopers flew into Yerevan aboard 17 military helicopters to reinforce up to 700 who had arrived Saturday, ARMENPRESS reporter Sergey Vasanyan told AFP.

Meanwhile, Azerbaijan's official news agency ASSA said two Azeri militiamen were wounded Sunday night when several villages near the border with Armenia came under "rocket and machinegun" attack.

It said the assailants were Armenian and used armoured troop-transport vehicles.

Last week 36 people were killed when members of the Azeri special forces (OMON) backed by Soviet Army units attacked two villages in Azerbaijan inhabited by ethnic Armenians, Getashen and Martunachen [spelling as received].

Interior Ministry Reports Armenian Incidents

LD0505174191 Moscow TASS in English 1555 GMT 5 May 91

[Text] Moscow May 5 TASS—As the conflict on the Armenian-Azerbaijani border in Transcaucasia continues to unfold, the top-ranking officials in the USSR Interior Ministry unequivocally refer to what is taking place there as a civil war between the two republics.

The epicentres of armed conflicts are close to villages Chaykend (Armenian Getashen) and Martunashen in the Khanlar region of Azerbaijan, populated by Armenians.

According to Soviet Interior Ministry information, published in the newspaper IZVESTIA today, both sides are currently engaged in combat operations using automatic weapons, grenade launchers, mortars, anti-aircraft rocket launchers, and armoured vehicles. According to some estimates, some 200 Armenian militants confronted by as many Azerbaijanis are concentrated in the area of Chaykend (Getashen) alone.

Colonel General Yuriy Shatalin, commander of the Soviet Interior Ministry troops, told the newspaper that Yerevan's statements about the forced deportation of Armenian population from the above villages were not true. His people are trying to stay away from the conflict, despite the fact that 14 servicemen have been taken prisoner and nine people are dead. Helicopters evacuate mainly old men, women, and children who ask to be evacuated.

Shatalin said his soldiers are guarding the Armenian nuclear power station. When he received information from the State Security Committee that an attack was planned on the station, he warned the Armenian mission in Moscow: "I would not allow you to trifle with such things as the station."

Refugees, children, and women, from Armenian villages Getashen (Chaykend) and Martunashen in the Khanlar region of Azerbaijan, where OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] troops jointly with Army units conducted an operation to disarm militants, continue to arrive in the regional centre of Nagorno-Karabakh.

On Saturday night, 107 people were airlifted to Stepanakert by helicopter, where they will share accomodation with the local population. Another three helicopters with women and children are expected in Stepanakert today.

All the evacuated refugees are in a state of stress. Their fragmentary accounts give a horrible picture of what has taken place in the two Armenian villages, one of which Martunashen was completely burned down.

Anna Karapetyan, 62, whose invalid husband was killed, told TASS that some 20 Armenians were killed in her village. In addition, several people died from wounds while Soviet Interior Ministry troops forced their way into the villages from nearby Shaumyanovsk. Women and children are being evacuated by military helicopters.

Armenia's acting Interior Minister Ashot Manucharyan said on television on Saturday that two Interior Ministry regiments of the republic had been dispatched to the border with Azerbaijan. They were instructed to defend the population of these regions and to cut short all illegal actions by Azerbaijan Interior Ministry troops and armed militants.

On Saturday 200 paratroopers of the Soviet Army arrived in Yerevan on military helicopters. According to the press centre of the Armenian Interior Ministry, they

will bolster the defence of military headquarters and other Army facilities in Armenia.

On Saturday the Armenian Government set up a defence committee at the republican Council of Ministers. The new committee was created as part of reorganisation of the committee coordinating the activity of military departments in the republic in the past months.

To avoid "spontaneous, ill-conceived actions", the Armenian leadership banned the movement of any units without permission of authorities and extended by one hour the curfew in the conflict zone. Residents of other Armenian regions heading for areas bordering on Azerbaijan are warned against taking "vigilante" actions.

Manucharyan said in his TV statement yesterday that two people in a car were killed in the Idzhevan region on Friday by a tank shot from the contiguous territory.

Armenian 'Bandits' Actions Cited

LD0505162691 Moscow TASS in English 1607 GMT 5 May 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow May 5 TASS—"Armenian militants' attacks on federal Interior Ministry troops are acquiring a systematic and increasingly daring nature," says Lieutenant-General Boris Smyslov, first deputy commander of federal Interior Ministry troops.

Smyslov told TASS that a well-armed gang of Armenian militants took 10 servicemen hostage in Chaykend village of Azerbaijan's Khanlarskiy region on April 30. The soldiers were ruthlessly beaten up.

On May 1, a group of terrorists organised an attack on a guard of an interior troops unit near the city of Razdan in Armenia.

"On May 2, a company that was carrying out a planned re-deployment, was ambushed in the city of Dilizhan. Armoured vehicles and cars carrying personnel were stopped by a crowd on the central square of the city. The organisers of the action gathered in advance hundreds of women and children on the square. It turned out later that there were at least 150 militants in the crowd.

"Using women and children as a shield, armed bandits mounted combat vehicles. They knew that servicemen would not open fire, although their fire power could exterminate the attackers in a matter of minutes. In this case, however, women and children would inevitably have suffered.

"This is the reason why the commander made the decision not to enter into armed confrontation and issued the right commands in this situation. Possibly, someone would denounce the officer, but both his subordinates and himself acted in a lofty manner, which cannot be said about the attackers who used a foul method to acheive their criminal goals," Smyslov said.

According to the general, militants resorted to such tactical manoeuvres on several occasions, specifically during an attack on guards, a garrison of interior troops in Yerevan and in other cases. In Dilizhan, terrorists told officers that they were ready to use flamer-throwers, seized last year, against troop units deployed on the republic's territory.

Smyslov said that on the instruction of the acting Armenian interior minister, OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] police seized eight people from the special team of Soviet Interior Ministry troops, which was stationed in the building of the republic's Interior Ministry in Yerevan on May 2. Weapons, documents, and communications systems were taken from the servicemen. Some of the officers were subjected to humiliating and provocative interrogations and were threatened with violence.

"In general, bandits in Armenia have stepped up their activity and armed opposition to federal Interior Ministry troops," Smyslov stressed. "Regrettably, the involvement of governmental bodies is seen in this activity as was the case with the special team.

"Colonel-General Yuriy Shatalin, commander of the federal Interior Ministry troops, repeatedly expressed concern over what is happening to Armenian parliament chairman Levon Ter-Petrosyan. However, recent developments show that these calls fell on deaf ears. Moreover, several publications imputed to the commander statements which he never made. An attempt is thus made to compromise for yet another time Interior Ministry troops which are doing everything today, risking their life, to stabilise the situation in the country's trouble spots," Smyslov said.

Armenian Supreme Soviet Declaration on Situation

NC0705092291 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1950 GMT 6 May 91

[Declaration issued by the Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet on 6 May in Yerevan]

[Text] The Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet having carefully assessed the operations conducted against the Armenian-inhabited villages of Getashen and Martunashen in Azerbaijan, based on reliable information attesting to the existence of a plan to forcibly evict the residents of these villages with the assistance of the USSR Armed Forces, foreseeing the uncontrollable exacerbation of the situation, and to prevent the implementation of this dangerous plan, on 25 April called for the convocation of an extraordinary congress of USSR people's deputies.

This constitutionally justified demand to reconvene an extraordinary congress was followed by savage attacks on the part of the Soviet Armed Forces and an Azerbaijani special purpose militia detachment against Getashen and Martunashen villages, which (?resulted) in massacres, pillage, and demands for the deportation of residents.

The 4 May joint statement of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry and Defense Ministry once again proves these departments' participation in the planned deportation operations. [passage indistinct] Armenian settlements all along the Armenian-Azerbaijani border are being shelled by artillery and tanks belonging to these Union departments. By resorting to the forced deportation of Armenians in Azerbaijan and by continuously shelling Armenian territory, the USSR authorities are trying to destabilize the situation in Armenia on the eve of the referendum. They even go as far as to interfere in the internal affairs of a (?sovereign) republic in an attempt to hamper the democratic process.

The Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet regards the USSR leadership's policy, which represents a violation of fundamental human rights and which is accompanied by mass atrocities and barbarism, as an attempt to defend the dictatorship and topple the legal democratic administrations. Such a policy is doomed to failure.

The Supreme Soviet declares the Armenian people's resolve to resist any oppression directed against them.

Clashes Continue on Armenian-Azerbaijan Border

LD0605174591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 6 May 91

[Excerpt] Armed clashes continue on the Armenian-Azerbaijan border despite Soviet forces being deployed in the region to prevent acts of violence. The situation on the border has deteriorated badly in the past few days. Our correspondent reports from Yerevan that a regular session of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Armenia, which is making a brief analysis of the situation, started its work today amid a most complex situation that changes by the hour. Levon Ter-Petrosyan gave a brief analysis of the situation and reported on his conversations and talks with the leadership of the country and the Russian Federation. He revealed that the group of deputies from the Russian Supreme Soviet which is in Armenia left this morning for the Noyemberyanskiy Rayon, where the village of Voskepar has been surrounded by Azerbaijan OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] and subunits of the Internal Troops.

Some time later our correspondent was informed by the republican Ministry of Internal Affairs press center that additional contingents of internal troops were flown in to the same rayon by military helicopters. The military authorities of the internal troops have issued an ultimatum to the Armenian militia stationed in Voskepar to surrender their weapons. When the deadline of the ultimatum expired, the village was subjected to a fierce missile bombardment by helicopters. The republican minister of internal affairs has no information on the whereabouts of the legislators from Russia.

Meanwhile a Supreme Soviet session has adopted several statements and appeals; in particular, a statement by the Supreme Soviet of Armenia says that the policy of the supreme leadership of the USSR, which violates basic human rights and results in brute force and barbarism, is directed at retaining the totalitarian regime in the country and the overthrow of the democratic power in Armenia. The Supreme Soviet declares that it is ready to resist any steps that are taken against the Armenian people.

An appeal to the UN secretary general states that the provocations now being carried out against Armenia give reason to suppose that all means will be used to hamper the normal process of a referendum on Armenia leaving the USSR. The referendum is to be held on 21 September this year. In connection with this the Supreme Soviet is requesting that UN observers be sent to prepare and carry out the referendum.

By now about 25 military helicopters have landed in the northern parts of Armenia.

This was a dispatch from our correspondent in Armenia.

Skirmishes are taking place almost daily, with Soviet forces taking part. TASS reports that the conflict on the Armenian-Azerbaijan border has spread in such a tragic way that high-ranking officials from the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs unequivocally describe what is going on as a civil war. Internal Minister Pugo, speaking at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet today, stated that the losses of the Azerbaijanis are about one and a half to two times higher than those among the Armenian population. Yet, according to information from Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian legislators—this was given to a correspondent of Deutsche Welle—Moscow has dropped the idea of the resettlement of representatives of the Armenian minority from Azerbaijan. [passage omitted]

Helicopters Bombing Villages

LD0605203991 Moscow TASS in English 2000 GMT 6 May 91

[Text] Moscow May 6 TASS—The situation remains tense on the Armenian-Azerbaijani border, the Soviet Interior Ministry reports.

Extremists from Gori and Kapan districts of Armenia continue to use firearms, mortars and grenade launchers against villages in Kubatlin district of Azerbaijan.

They also use armoured personnel carriers and helicopters.

About 500 residents of the Armenian village of Getashen inside Azerbaijan have been evacuated to Stepanakert, Nagorno-Karabakh region, Yuriy Shatalin, the commander of the Soviet Interior Ministry troops, told the governmental IZVESTIYA daily.

He refused to forecast the development of the situation here.

The Armenian parliament on Monday called on the U.N. chief Perez de Cuellar to send U.N. observers to Armenia to oversee the preparation for and holding of a referendum on Armenia's secession from the Soviet Union.

The referendum is scheduled for September 21, 1991.

Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan told the parliament on Monday that Soviet Interior Ministry troops "use helicopters to bombard villages in Voskepr Noyemberyan district of Armenia".

He said they demand that the Armenian police lay down their arms after they ignored their ultimatum.

Soviet Interior Ministry troops are acting in accordance with the presidential decree of July 25, 1990, which bans the creation of illegal armed groups and sanctions the confiscation of illegally- kept arms.

Over 100 pieces of firearm and ammunition, and about 500 kilograms of explosives have been confiscated from illegal armed groups near the Armenian-Azerbaijani border since April 15, 1991.

Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutalibov told the AZERINFORM news agency on Monday that during his recent meeting with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow "Gorbachev showed understanding of problems pertaining to passport-checking operations in republic's Khanlar and other districts and actions to mop up Azerbaijan from extremists and their arms."

He stressed that all Armenians living in Azerbaijan can and will live in the republic, provided they observe its laws and constitution, as well as Soviet laws.

About 200,000 Armenians are currently living in Azerbaijan.

"People, who violate the passport regime in the republic and its laws, or who illegally keep arms, will be called to account in accordance with laws," Mutalibov said.

'Thousands' Mourn Casualties

LD0405155191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1430 GMT 4 May 91

[Text] Moscow, 4 May (TASS)—Mourning has been declared in Armenia. Thousands of people assembled for a mourning rally on the square in front of the opera house in the republic's capital today. They came here to take their leave of those who died in the Armenian villages of Martunashen and Getashen (Chaykend) in Azerbaijan.

Yesterday the ARMENPRES agency, citing the republic's Interior Ministry, disseminated a report saying that persons of Azerbaijani nationality fired automatic weapons and artillery from the villages of Baganis-Ayrum, Askipar, and Kheymrlu in Azerbaijan's Kazakhskiy Rayon on a number of villages with an Armenian population on the night of 29-30 April. It was claimed that the firing lasted several hours.

According to information from Azerbiajan's Interior Ministry, however, the AZERINFORM agency reported, measures to guarantee the safety of the population and to restore law and order were carried out in a number of rayons of Azerbaijan, including the Nagorno- Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, on 30 April in the course of the realization of the decree of the country's president on disarming illegal armed formations and monitoring the passport system. The report disseminated by the agency notes that armed militants offered the forces of law and order bitter resistance in the settlement of Martunashen. In the course of the operation, three mortars, 48 mines, 15 homemade antitank mines, 84 firearms and other weapons, thousands of rounds of ammunition, three radio sets, four motor vehicles, and three armored personnel carriers were seized from them. A total of 45 armed militants were detained, and three servicemen were slightly injured.

Armenians' Evacuation to Stepanakert Reported

NC0605091591 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0700 GMT 6 May 91

[Text] The State Committee for the Implementation of Special Projects has just informed our correspondent that the situation in Getashen is stable for the time being.

According to yesterday's reports, nearly 300 inhabitants of Getashen and Martunashen were taken to Stepanakert by helicopter. The evacuees are mostly women, children and elderly. They were given the usual humiliating treatment by the members of the Azerbaijani Special Purpose Militia who control the airport.

Militia Halts Armenia, Azerbaijan Protests

LD0505192191 Berlin ADN in German 1737 GMT 5 May 91

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—The Moscow militia on Sunday evening halted a protest demonstration against the bloody intervention of the Soviet military in Azerbaijan and Armenia. Around 300 members of the anti-Stalin society "Memorial" and other members of the Russian legislature wanted to call on the government from Red Square to solve the problems between the Armenians and the Azerbaijanis peacefully.

The militia cordonned off the square to all pedestrians beforehand. Mikhail Karpov, [name as received] Moscow City Council press spokesman, said to ADN that the demonstration had not been approved because an application would have had to have been given to the authorities responsible at least 10 days beforehand. Instead, the demonstrators met carrying banners at the Lenin Mausoleum in the direct vicinity of Red Square in order to make their protest. Lev Ponomarev, a leading member of the opposition movement "Democratic Russia," explained that the Armenians who died as a result of the brutal military intervention were the most recent victims of Soviet totalitarianism.

Multinational Combatants Appeal to Gorbachev

NC0605104891 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 3 May 91

["Appeal" by multinational combatants to USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev; place and date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] The illegal units of the Armenian nationalists, who have been supplied with modern arms and secretly trained, have been creating discord and trouble in the Azerbaijani rayons that border Armenia and in the Nagorno-Karbakh Autonomous Oblast for a number of days now. The blood of innocent people is being shed. Many of the members of the USSR Armed Forces and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, who are protecting the women, children, and elderly, have been killed by shots fired by the brigands. We are deeply grieved about this situation.

The situation in the two Transcaucasus republics is the direct result of Armenia's reluctance to implement the decree you issued on 25 July 1990 to have the armed groups, which are not called for by the USSR laws, banned and the illegally possessed arms seized.

We now ask: When will the criminal groups be disbanded? When will the armed forces and the internal troops move from taking measures to ward off the armed attacks to launching resolute operations aimed at disarming the armed groups?

What concerns us is that a number of USSR Supreme Soviet deputies have used the congress platforms of the USSR peoples deputies to incite interethnic discord in the region.

We demand that these political adventurists be exposed and brought to account in accordance with the laws.

We, the multinational combatants of the Azerbaijan Republic, hope that you, Mikhail S. Gorbachev, will immediately move to take concrete measures to end the bloodshed and prevent the existing state of violence from becoming even more widespread and turning into a fratricide.

Central Asia

Economic-Social Reform Fund Set Up in Kazakhstan

LD0705092291 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 0700 GMT 7 May 91

[Text] On the initiative of President Nazarbayev, a republican fund for economic and social reforms has been set up in Kazakhstan. Founders include the workforces of some of the biggest industrial enterprises. This new independent non-commercial organization plans to coordinate financing of promising ideas and projects capable of bringing about a breakthrough in the republic's social and economic development. Major Soviet and foreign academics will be encouraged to contribute expert knowledge to scientific and technical projects and to the practical institution of market mechanisms in Kazakhstan's economic system.

Kyrgyzstan Setting Up 1st 'Free Economic Zone'

PM0705091191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 May 91 First Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent Yu. Razgulyayev: "Highway to the East"]

[Text] Bishkek—The first free economic zone will appear soon in the Republic of Kyrgyzstan. The decision was made by a Supreme Soviet session. Its creation should accelerate the development of Naryn Oblast, which is very rich in natural resources that are hardly exploited as yet.

"It is not a matter of doing the fashionable thing," Naryn Oblast Soviet Chairman K. Ashiraliyev explained. "We have all the objective conditions for establishing genuine entrepreneurial activity here and for attracting foreign capital. In the first place, our oblast borders on the PRC and has good links with it via the Bishkek-Torugart highway. Furthermore, the Karakorum highway gives us access to the countries of the Middle and Near East."

Kyrgyzstan Party Leader Queried on Policy, Aims

LD0205120591 Bishkek SLOVO KYRGYZSTANA in Russian 13 Apr 91, p 7

[Interview with Askar Bazarkulov, co-chairman of the Kyrgyzstan Democratic Movement, to correspondent V. Kim: "An Opposition Man Acknowledges: Anyone Predicting the Imminent Demise of the CPSU Is Wrong"]

[Excerpts] Tolen Dyykambayev, former co-chairman of the Kyrgyzstan Democratic Movement [KDM] in the south of the republic, resigned from the KDM in the fall of last year. Askar Bazarkulov was elected as a new leader to replace him. Bazarkulov asked to meet a correspondent on a republican paper to explain his stance on several issues.

Kim: When a leader of a political movement resigns, one cannot help but ask whether all is well within that movement.

Bazarkulov: I know full well that we have given people reason to entertain such doubts. I will not conceal that there were certain contradictions within the KDM leadership which, fortunately, we have now overcome. The debate stemmed from Dyykambayev's desire to make ours a pro-Islamic movement. Many of us could not, by any means, agree with that idea. Eventually he left the movement, but rejoined quite recently as an ordinary member. As you know, Dyykambayev is a fanatical supporter of a Turkestan confederation, and does not conceal his openly anticommunist views. That is another thing which is not in accordance with our political aims.

Kim: I talked to him last summer when he told me that the KDM had over 3,000 members within the former borders of

Osh oblast. Now that the movement's popularity has grown, that number must have doubled, if not trebled.

Bazarkulov: Unfortunately, that was wishful thinking on Dyykambayev's part. I imagine that he was including in the KDM every single group of people that expressed discontent, or that, to some degree, voiced disagreement with the policy of the official authorities. That meant that the figure was vastly inflated. I would say that there are no more than 2,500 members of the KDM in the south of the republic at the moment.

Kim: You have unwittingly stated the principle on which your movement is formed. The people who come to you are in reality, primarily individuals who are in conflict with the official authorities. Where will that lead? If there is no further reason for conflict, will not your movement also cease to exist?

Bazarkulov: Perhaps, but believe me, that day is a very long way off. We are not so conceited as to claim that we are exclusive. We reflect the feelings of the broad masses, who have had enough of living under a totalitarian regime. The KDM is made up of a multitude of organizations—36 to date. They are all completely different, both in terms of numbers and in the tasks they set themselves. Just recently the Perestroyka Party joined us. Its leader is Sabir Girgoriyevich Akhmadzhanov, a commissar of perestroyka, who is well known in Osh. In 1986 this small group of zealots declared that they would campaign against all who stand in the way of revolutionary change. We value the trust and friendship of people like Akhmadzhanov highly. At the same time we want our movement to be solid. We have categorically forbiden KDM members from "campaigning for their rights" in the localities without our authority for sometimes things descend into hooliganism and speculation. That does us no good, and we oppose such things resolutely and severely.

Kim: What is the basis of your anticommunist platform?

Bazarkulov: Anticommunism is not popular among us. I know that in the north of the Republic it is fairly widespread among certain KDM organizations. It is our view that we can and must cooperate with the Party: It will find itself through perestroyka, and anyone predicting the imminent demise of the CPSU is completely wrong.

Kim: That sounds odd coming from someone who left the CPSU of his own free will.

Bazarkulov: I did not do that because I hated Communism. Far from it. I did it to set up a Democratic Party in the republic, a party which would be similar to the CPSU, but completely independent of it. [passage omitted]

You may ask me why I do not share the enthusiasm that Dyykambayev, my predecessor, had for the idea of setting up a Turkestan confederation. First and foremost I am frightened by the fact that the idea of such a confederation has no real grounds. If it could not be brought about at the beginning of the century, when Islam was the dominating ideology, what chance is there now at the end of the 20th century? [passage omitted]

Kyrgyzstan Overrules 'Closed' Cities Resolution

PM0705091991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 May 91 Union Edition p 2

["Direct Line" report by Aleksandr Ryabushkin: "Issyk-Kul Welcomes Foreigners"]

[Text] Bishkek—The Kyrgyzstan Supreme Soviet has adopted a decision suspending the effect of the USSR Council of Ministers 8 December 1990 resolution "On Approval of the List of Cities and Areas of the USSR Closed to Foreign Citizens" in the republic's territory.

It relates first and foremost to Issyk-Kul Oblast, which is now open to foreign visitors, tourists, and businessmen wanting to do business there.

I contacted Issyk-Kul Oblast Soviet and was told that the first group of businessmen from America had already arrived. There are plans to set up a joint venture to process agricultural products and construct hotels.

Landslide Reported in Uzbek Mining Town

LD0405110491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1000 GMT 4 May 91

[Text] Our Tashkent correspondent has reported some alarming news: A tragedy took place at dawn today in the region of the mining town of Angren. As a result of torrential rain, a landslide began and a large quantity of earth covered more than 10 houses. There are casualties. A republican government commission has been formed to help the victims of the landslide. The republic's president, Karimov, has arrived at the scene of the catastrophe.

Gorbachev Sends Condolences

LD0605084291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0822 GMT 6 May 91

[Text] Moscow, 6 May (TASS)—Mikhail Gorbachev has expressed deep sympathy to the people of Uzbekistan in connection with the severe natural disaster near the town of Angrena, which led to loss of life. (As already reported, a landslide occurred on Saturday [4 May] in the village of Chigiristan, 15 km from the major Uzbek industrial center Angrena. More than 50 people are thought to have died.)

In a telegram addressed to the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, and to the people of Uzbekistan, Mikhail Gorbachev expressed sincere condolences to the families and relatives of the dead, and to the whole of the population that has suffered.

USSR Government Sends Condolences

LD0605200991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1046 GMT 6 May 91

[Text] Moscow, 6 May (TASS)—The government of the USSR has expressed sincere sympathy to the peoples and government of Uzbekistan in connection with the natural disaster in Tashkent Oblast and the large number of deaths.

The telegram to the government and peoples of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, signed by USSR Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov, also contains a request to convey condolences to the families of the victims, their friends and relatives.

Uzbekistan Curbs Impact of Price Hike, Sales Tax

PM0705085391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 May 91 First Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent V. Artemenko: "Not Only Increases"]

[Text] Tashkent—The Cabinet of Ministers under the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic president has taken into account the demographic peculiarities of the region and the population's low incomes and made partial changes to its recent resolution on the reform of retail prices.

Since 1 May people have been paying 50 percent less for school uniforms and aprons and 30 percent less for children's footwear. The price of Chinese satin [khan-atlas], the sale of which is rationed, will also be cut by one-half. More than 400 million rubles [R] will have to be sought from the republican budget to implement the adopted resolution.

Uzbekistan has many low-income families. In view of this, as well as the large amount of housing construction under way, the Cabinet of Ministers decided by means of another resolution not to levy the five-percent sales tax on children's goods, third-category public catering products, tea, salt, matches, and local construction materials to be sold to the population. More than R100 million have been allocated from the republican budget to compensate for the abolition of the five-percent tax. As a result of the social protection measures the population will save an additional amount of more than R536 million.